



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
**PIRATES,**  
FREE-BOOTERS,  
OR  
**Buccaneers of America.**

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*Translated from the German*  
OF  
J. M. VON ARCHENHOLTZ,  
BY  
**GEORGE MASON, Esq.**

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Not strong towers, nor walls of beaten brass,  
Nor airless dungeons, nor strong links of fate,  
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit.

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there shall be done  
A deed of dreadful note.

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1807.

THE  
HISTORY  
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OF  
THE COASTS OF AMERICA.

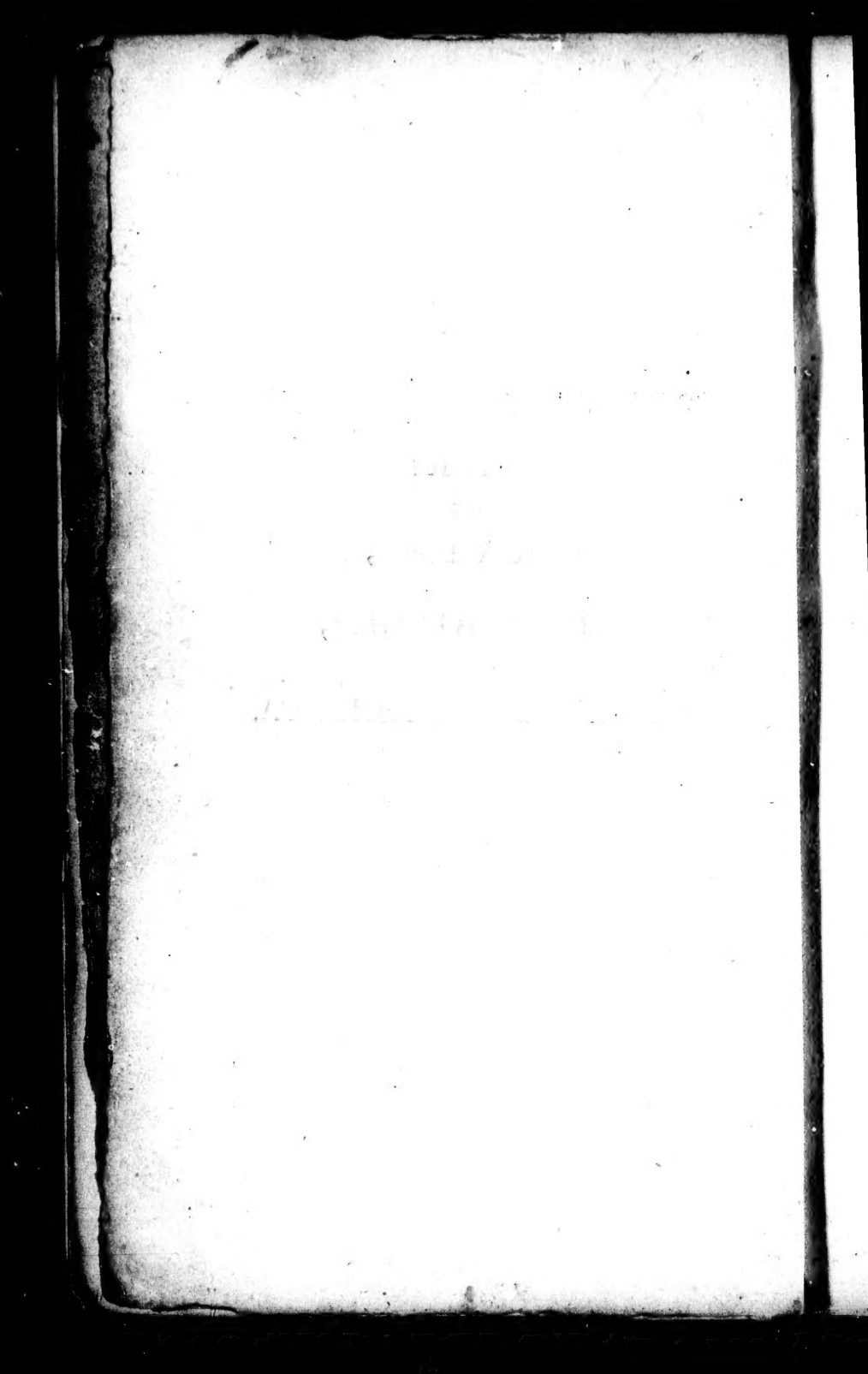
BY  
M. ARCHER, ESQ.  
OF  
NEW-YORK.

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
THE FIRST VOLUME.  
CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE  
PIRATES OF THE COASTS OF AMERICA,  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE  
COASTS OF AMERICA, TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.  
LONDON:  
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*The Pirates*

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## PREFACE.

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THE object of the following work is, to fill up a chasm in the annals of history, respecting the manners, customs, and achievements of the association of Free-booters ;—whose exploits, (especially those detailed in the last chapter of this volume), were, in fact, so astonishing, as, in the opinion of Voltaire, to surpass all the actions ever performed by the Romans, or any other people, whose conquests have desolated the globe.

On surveying the various periods of antient and modern history, in which either nations or societies of armed men have distinguished themselves by a long-continued display of extraordinary courage, M. von Archenholtz observed, that the history of the Free-booters had never yet been treated in a regular and uniform method ; the notices concerning them by the Abbé Raynal and Voltaire being too brief and too superficial to present an accurate view of this uncommon race of men. Many of these Pirates themselves wrote journals of their transactions in various languages, French, English, Dutch: some of these, both printed and manu-

script, are now in existence; but they are written with so little regard to order, and combine so many uninteresting details, as to contribute very little towards a *full history* of the Free-booters. By consulting these (and especially the French journal of Ravenneau de Lusan), as well as the labours of Charlevoix\*, Fathers du Tertre †, and Labat ‡, M. von Archenholtz has produced a work which cannot but command the attention of every thinking reader, while the lovers of the marvellous will meet with ample materials to gratify their taste.

The celebrity which M. von Archenholtz has obtained, both in this country as well as on the continent, for his judgment and fidelity as an historian, may render any further remarks unnecessary. It only remains to add, that some passages have been expunged that seemed to breathe too much of party-spirit and party-violence against a neighbouring nation: in other respects, a faithful version has been given of the following history; in which, though the feelings of sensibility cannot but be severely wounded during the perusal, yet the retributive hand of Providence may be clearly discerned by every attentive observer.

\* In his history of the island of St. Domingo.

† In his history of the Antilles.

‡ In his voyage to the American islands.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
**PIRATES.**

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CHAP. I.

THE seventeenth century was distinguished by one of those extraordinary circumstances which have never been witnessed since the destruction of the Cilician Pirates by Pompey. Those, whose history we are now about to trace, are characterized by some particulars that are yet more striking: they cannot be compared to the modern republics, known under the name of Barbary States. Their plan, organization, and their ferocious exploits, are altogether different from those of all the associations which have ever infested the seas with their piracies and robberies: in particular, they differ from those northern Pirates, who, about the middle ages, terrified the European coasts by their incursions. These, indeed, never attempted bold descents: they attacked no fortresses, nor carried terror among land forces, or into squadrons. The capture of merchant ships was the sole object of their enterprises: every thing was done from motives of cupidity, and nothing from a principle of valour.

The Free-booters had no models by which to regulate themselves. They were a floating republic; the members of which, natives of Europe, were divided into troops of greater or less force, who were animated by the same spirit, directed by uniform principles, bound by conventions or agreements, and who scoured the American seas, having booty for their rallying cry.

This singular state is indebted for its first origin to the avidity and to the oppressions of insatiable Europeans, especially of the Spaniards, who ruled the West Indies with an iron sceptre; to the difficulty of consolidating the government of such prodigiously extensive territories, at such a great distance from Europe, and with means so greatly inferior to those at present employed; and, lastly, to the attraction of plunder offered to the world by the navigation of the Spaniards, and the almost inexhaustible riches of Mexico and Peru, which abounded with the precious metals.

To these causes may be added the jealousy with which the European powers were inspired by the success of Spain, who had acquired so considerable a portion of the New World; while their possessions were either of no value, confined to some colonies on the coast, or to a few islands of little consequence; and when also those states of North America, which have since become so flourishing, were yet in their earliest infancy.

Hence arose that protection which was granted to these Pirates, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, by France and England, and also by Portugal and Holland, the governors of their islands, and the commanders of their ships of war, in the hope of weakening the power of Spain, and of enriching their own colonies. Not only in time of war, indeed, did they favour the enterprizes of the Free-booters, by granting to them preferably letters of marque, which are always dispatched with so little difficulty, and which they

employed with equal intrepidity and success. In the midst even of peace, envy, animosity, and preventive expedients of various kinds, suggested to them these indirect hostilities.

During the seventeenth, and likewise the following century, Spain, notwithstanding a series of reigns in which folly seemed hereditary, notwithstanding the causes that contributed to diminish her strength, which existed both in her own bogom and in the partition of her vast possessions, Spain was considered as the most formidable power. Formidable indeed she was in one respect, when compared with the then wretched state of the finances, military strength, and commerce of every other nation; at a period when twenty thousand men constituted a powerful army; when two millions of crowns composed the whole treasure of a sovereign; when the sciences were not held in honour, the arts were destitute of encouragement; when commerce was scarcely known by name, and traders were despised; when the Inquisition, papal bulls, and excommunications decided the fate of whole nations; and when especially, both governors and subjects, the tools of the most stupid ignorance, exhausted the faculties of their mind in vain disputes concerning religion. The regeneration of the human race was then only in its dawn.

Under such circumstances, the powers of Europe might be dazzled with the splendour which Charles the Fifth had diffused over Spain; and his worthless son Philip the Second, who had at his command the treasures of the New World, great commanders, an excellent body of cavalry, and the best infantry of Europe, — might, notwithstanding the loss of the Low Countries, entertain that illusion which constituted part of his inheritance, and transmit it, though somewhat weakened, to his indolent successors. In fact, it did continue till towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The peace of Westphalia completely dissipated it; and, fifty years afterwards, on the death of



Charles the Second, Spain, who had so long been dreaded, but who had always been subjugated to her priests, and who had always been stationary in her mediocrity, at length found herself fixed in her proper rank, that of a power of the second class.

For several years, the names of *Buccaneers* and *Free-booters* had been known in Europe, but they were regarded only as an association of wild men, as an assemblage of robbers, of various nations. Their exploits, which were stained with murder and rapine, ~~though these were not suppressed in many respects,~~ were not distinguished for a long time in a part of the world where, during a century and a half, the most powerful had known no other rallying point than murder and rapine. They were considered merely as common pirates; or rather Europe thought them unworthy her notice, until they awakened general attention by their organization, by the singular nature of their constitution, by numerous peculiarities, and especially by their extraordinary achievements and adventures: then it was that they seized a place in the history of the world, of which time can never deprive them.

In other respects, a narrative of their adventures is more calculated to excite surprize and painful sensations than to furnish a source of instruction. It presents to our view men, who, with very small resources, produced extraordinary consequences, and mustered incredible forces;—men who deserve our admiration from their enterprizing spirit, their invincible courage, their activity, and from a patience that enabled them to brave every pain and privation, and to face every danger, even death itself; while they make us tremble with horror by their vices, their crimes, their cruelties, and by every kind of excesses. Distracted by such opposite sensations, we should be tempted to turn aside our eyes from these ferocious beings, and to devote their deeds to oblivion, and their names to execration, if some estimable qualities, if (may it be added) some virtues, did not reconcile us to these ferocious Free-

booters,—the children of a barbarous age, and of miserable circumstances,—and even render them interesting to us. Some monsters, however, there were among them, who must be excepted: such were Morgan, Olonois, and others, with whom we shall become acquainted in the course of this narrative.

The first vestige of these pirates appears in the hunters of wild bulls, of the island of Hispaniola, which has since become so well known, under the name of St. Domingo. At first they were called *Buccaneers*: afterwards the hunters of wild boars and bears associated with them, at least under the same appellation. Whole months were spent by these men in the forests at a distance from their dwellings. On their return home, they divided the produce of their chase, and immediately sailed towards the Isle of Tortugas, which is situated to the north of the western part of St. Domingo. That small island was their market: and to its colonists they disposed of the salted and smoked flesh, as well as of the hides of the beasts they had hunted down. In return, they purchased new arms, gunpowder, lead, and other articles necessary for their profession: the remainder of their profit was consumed by *gluttony*.

Before, however, we sketch their history, we shall exhibit a few of the principal characteristics of this singular association, of this moral phenomenon, which has only passed over the earth, and has disappeared for ever. In the first place, we shall notice the *Buccaneers* alone, their mode of living, and the most remarkable of their achievements: one of the following chapters will portray the character, customs, and manners of the real *Free-booters*, for both require a separate discussion. Though united in a few respects, they acted independently of each other; nor, until pressed by circumstances, did the *Buccaneers* form any intimate connection with the *Free-booters*, and with them constitute only one society.

The *Buccaneers*, who had established their haunts

in the Antilles, and chiefly in the island of St. Domingo, were a race of men whose mode of living was singular, and who, for the most part, were natives of Normandy. They assumed their name from the places where they had small fields in a state of tillage, and where their barracks were situated. Here they salted and smoked their meat; and these spots were denominated *Boucans*, in the language of the country, or rather in that of their disgusting profession.

The barracks, which constituted their places of refuge, were in fact only large huts covered on the top, but open on the sides; consequently, though sheltered from the sun and rains, they were exposed to the wind, from whatever quarter it might blow.

The Buccaneers were composed of French colonists, as well as those of other countries in Europe, of the descendants of these colonists, and likewise of various Europeans whom the caprice of fortune had conducted to the West Indies, but the majority of them were natives of France. Having neither women nor children, they constantly lived by couples in an entire community of property, and reciprocally rendered their services. They called each other *Matelots* (consorts or comrades), and denominated this method of living *Matelotage*. The survivor inherited whatever had belonged to him who first paid the debt of nature. Independently of this particular community, a general right of participation subsisted between all the Buccaneers; in consequence of which, any of them could take from another *Boucan* whatever his necessities required. Every species of window or fastening was rigorously prohibited, and the adoption of any such security would by them have been considered as high treason against the society. *Mine* and *thine* were words utterly unknown in this republic. Disputes, indeed, were of very rare occurrence in it; and if any quarrels arose, they were immediately terminated by the intervention of friends.

The code of the Buccaneers was extremely simple:

they acknowledged no other laws than some agreements which they had concluded among themselves; and, if any improvements were proposed to be made, they coolly replied—" *It is not the custom on the coast.*" Their former notions concerning submission and religion induced them to consider the governor of Tortugas as a kind of chief or commander: and they denominated themselves Christians, without conforming in any respect whatever to the precepts of christianity.

When any individual wished to become a Buccaneer, he was obliged to relinquish all the customs of social life, and even his family name. In order to designate the members of the society, each received either a new appellation or a kind of nick-name; which often descended to their offspring when they married. Some of them indeed did not announce their private name till the period of their marriage; whence originated the proverb still current in the Antilles, that "*we do not learn to know people till they are married.*"

Marriage, however, put an end to their previous mode of living; as the married men were no longer in communion with the society. They then ceased to be *Buccaneers*, and became colonists; who, under the name of inhabitants, were formally subjected to the laws and regulations issued by the governor of Tortugas.

With regard to their apparel, each Buccaneer wore a shirt and a pair of pantaloons, both made of coarse linen cloth dyed with the blood of the animals they had killed. Their boots were manufactured with hog-skins (for they wore no stockings); and their heads were covered with a round cap. A strap, cut out of a raw hide, supplied them with a girdle, on which they suspended ornaments becoming their profession, viz. a very short sabre, and a few knives. Their fire-arms consisted merely of a long firelock, carrying two balls, each weighing one ounce. Every one was attended, according to his fancy, by one or more valets, servants, and by twenty or thirty dogs, that followed him to the chace

Their chief employment consisted in hunting bulls; as they chased wild boars merely for amusement. The flesh of these animals supplied them with food; and the raw marrow from their bones afforded them a repast at the hour of breakfast. Thus having very few wants, abstaining from bread and wine, and being like the Hottentots in the midst of the most disgusting filth, the number of their moveables was extremely circumscribed. For their meals, indeed, they had neither benches nor tables: they ate and lay on the ground: stones and the trunks and roots of trees furnished them with tables and pillows.

Wretched as such a mode of living must appear, they were content with it: their appetites were always great, and they enjoyed a hardy health of body, which did not lose its strength until many long years had been spent in this laborious way of living.

The wiser, however, (or, perhaps, in the opinion of some, the more effeminate) of them devoted themselves to this profession only for a limited time, at the expiration of which they separated from their brethren, and became colonists. But the rest were averse to a change of habit, and even relinquished considerable inheritances which they might have gone to receive in Europe, and continued to be Buccaneers to the end of their days.

Their principal *boucans*, or places of resort, were in the peninsula of Savanna, on the north coast of St. Domingo; in an island in the Bay of Bayaha (or Fort Dauphin); in a few other spots on the northern coast of Hispaniola; at Port Margot; at Tortugas; in the Burnt Savanna; in the Mirbalais; and in an island on the south of St. Domingo, known by the French under the name of L'Avache. At these places the Buccaneers quietly followed their rude avocations; while the Spaniards, not considering that the innocent traffic of these strangers was beneficial even to their nation, conceived the idea of driving them from St. Domingo, rather, of exterminating them if it were possible.

The war now assumed a new form. The Spaniards ceased to pursue men who had cost the lives of so many of their troops; and attacked the unfortunate Buccaneers by night in their retreats, where they slew every one, whether master or servant, that fell into their hands. These sanguinary cruelties excited the resentment of the Buccaneers to the very last degree: they assembled together, and in their turn acted on the offensive, sparing none of their enemies. This additional rage apparently subsided among the Spaniards, and the Buccaneers began to flatter themselves with the idea of living in peace. The Spaniards, however, were only waiting for reinforcements; and, as these were received from their other colonies, the war recommenced on both sides. The Buccaneers were assisted by the French from Tortugas and other islands, as well as by a great number of adventurers; who were excited to this undertaking, partly from animosity to the Spaniards, partly by the allurements of plunder. Both parties fought without intermission; the soil of St. Domingo was every where sprinkled with human blood; and some of these numerous fields of battle

have to this day retained the name of *Massacre*.—The events here recorded, occurred between the years 1660 and 1665.

In these contests the French governor of Tortugas had taken part, only with prudential caution: for, at that time, the situation of France, and her relations with the other European powers, did not allow her openly to protect the Buccaneers. The court of Madrid, however, turned its attention seriously to establishing an order of things, the consequences of which it foresaw, and exaggerated. The Spanish court thought it impossible to save St. Domingo, and even to preserve the whole of its commerce in the New World, unless the French were entirely driven both from that island and from Tortugas. Pursuant to these counsels, orders were dispatched to America, to collect together a body of troops, from the neighbouring islands, and even on the Continent; the command of whom was committed to Van Delmof, a veteran officer, who had acquired considerable glory in the Low Country wars. Great rewards were promised to all who should distinguish themselves in the approaching enterprize.

Van Delmof arrived at St. Domingo in 1663; and in the course of a few days commenced his operations. As Savanna was the chief place of refuge which the Buccaneers had, he proposed there to attack them: accordingly, placing himself at the head of five hundred chosen men, and being provided with all the ammunition accompanying a body of European troops, he marched rapidly forward, and with all possible secrecy: but the Buccaneers received information of his approach from one of their hunters, while he was only a few leagues distant. Their number did not exceed one hundred, and they might still have saved themselves, and safely reached another of their dwellings; but they disdained to fly, and determined to lose no time in marching to meet the Spaniards. Suddenly they appeared, descending a mountain, to the utter



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astonishment of their enemies; who, holding the Buccaneers in the greatest contempt, were far from expecting to meet with a vigilance that overturned their plan. The superiority of their numbers, however, together with their arms and military experience, still seemed to ensure them success: the Buccaneers commenced the attack; and both sides fought with equal ardour and obstinacy. At length the victory, which had for a long time continued uncertain, decided against the deluded Spaniards, who were entirely overthrown, and driven back to the mountains; their commander, together with very many of their troops, being left on the field of battle.

A defeat so unexpected made a deep impression upon the Spaniards, who returned to their former method of waging war; and who, observing that the Buccaneers rejected the necessary precautions while hunting, again began to attack them in detached parties. The latter, who required no more than permission to live in peace, determined to transport all their *boucans* into the small islands that surround St. Domingo, and in future to follow the chase on that isle, only in large bodies. From this time attacks became less frequent, and the war was discontinued for want of supplies.

At one time, when the *boucans* were fixed in safe places, they were successively converted into stationary residences or dwellings where the colonists had settled. Such was the settlement of Bayaha, where nature had formed one of the finest and most spacious ports of America. It was also in the vicinity of Tortugas, whither the Buccaneers could, in a few hours, convey themselves, to dispose of their flesh and hides, and supply themselves, with the few utensils which their profession required. In the course of a short time, the advantages afforded by the port of Bayaha rendered even this passage unnecessary, as both the French and Dutch resorted thither to dispose of their commodities and to purchase whatever they wanted,

In the mean time the war had not entirely ceased, as the Buccaneers were almost daily passing over to St. Domingo for the purpose of landing; where the Spaniards, who were always superior in number, from time to time endeavoured to surprise them, and without mercy killed every one on whom they could seize. The death of one of them was sufficient to throw a whole boucan into agitation; and all labour was suspended till the death of their comrade had been revenged.

One day four Buccaneers were observed to have disappeared. Their surviving companions instantly resolved to cross over to St. Domingo, in a body, and on no account to separate till they had ascertained the fate of their companions, in the event of whose death they swore to extirpate their murderers. In a short time they took some prisoners, who informed them that several of their comrades had perished, and that those, whose wounds had rendered them incapable of self-defence, had been put to death in cool blood. These hapless prisoners were the first victims of their indiscreet discovery: and, after the Buccaneers had massacred them, they dispersed themselves with the ferocity of beasts over the adjacent dwellings, putting to death every Spaniard that came in their way.

Thus recommenced this war of extermination, in which the Spaniards rarely obtained any success. One day they attacked, with a body of 200 men, 30 Buccaneers at the very moment when the latter, who had come from Bayaha, were landing on the shore of St. Domingo. They defended themselves with the utmost desperation, though not a single individual of them escaped the swords of their enemies. Some time afterwards, another body of hunters, under the command of Toré, one of their principal chiefs, met with a similar fate. These men, who were returning from that island, had already reached Savanna, and thought themselves free from danger: this security the Spaniards, who were in every case superior in numbers, had

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expected, and accordingly they availed themselves of the opportunity. The Buccaneers, dispersed and fighting under every disadvantage, were at length overcome, after having made their enemies purchase their victory most dearly: one man only remained to carry this fatal news to Bayaha. From this moment the Buccaneers breathed nothing but vengeance, which they mercilessly executed, without regarding either age or sex, even on many innocent persons; and the terror of their name progressively extended. At length the Spaniards took a step, decisive indeed; but the fatal consequence of which, as it respected their own nation in America, they had not foreseen. Convinced of the impossibility of exterminating the Buccaneers, or at least of expelling them from St. Domingo by forcible measures, they determined to eradicate the evil by depriving them of their only means of subsistence. A general chase of horned cattle was ordered throughout the island; which was pursued with so much ardour and preservance, that nearly the whole breed of these animals was destroyed.

Thus deprived of their occupations and resources, the Buccaneers were obliged to embrace another mode of living. Several of them settled as colonists at Bayaha, Tortugas, and in other small islands in the vicinity; but the majority, accustomed to brave all dangers, scorning a pacific life, and despising the restraint of laws, considered even agriculture as a dishonourable pursuit, and were animated only by one passion, with which the recent events had inspired them,—the desire of revenging themselves upon the Spaniards. With this view they united themselves to their friends the Free-booters, who now began to be distinguished, but who did not become really formidable until after their intimate association with the Buccaneers.

## CHAP. II.

**B**EFORE we proceed to describe the achievements of the Free-booters, it will not be improper to take a concise retrospect of the situation of St. Domingo at the time now referred to, as that island had, more frequently than Tortugas, afforded these Pirates an asylum, and afterwards constituted their chief rendezvous; and also because its fate is intimately connected with their history. Till the middle of the seventeenth century, that extensive island had been entirely subject to the Spaniards, who were not, however, sufficiently acquainted with its real value, and devoted their attention exclusively to the colonies which supplied their blind cupidity with the precious metals. The French did not possess a single inch of ground in St. Domingo, before the Buccaneers had formed there, not a colony indeed, but a kind of settlement, that accorded with their inclinations and manner of life. Till that time they had occupied only the small neighbouring island of Tortugas; which a single private French gentleman, of Rausset, in 1659, forcibly took from the Spaniards, who had taken possession of it. This island was destitute of every resource. In 1665, the population of its chief place scarcely amounted to two hundred and fifty inhabitants. In short, it was a colony devoid of strength, and for a long time had no other protection against the Spaniards than the valour of the Free-booters.

The rising power of France was about to terminate this state of affairs in the West Indies, and this resolution was accelerated by the appointment of Ogeron to the government, in 1665. For this

arduous office he was eminently calculated, as he united in his person the two opposite qualities of prudence and a spirit of enterprize: his character was highly respectable; and he may, in fact, be considered as the real founder of the French colony at St. Domingo. Throughout the last-mentioned island, at the period now referred to, there were not more than 14,000 inhabitants, including Spaniards, Creoles, and Mulattos; the number of negro-slaves was, doubtless, somewhat greater, but was by no means exactly determined. To these must be added 1200 fugitive negroes; who, aiming at independence, had entrenched themselves in the mountains, whence they descended to levy contributions on the plantations. Santo Domingo, the metropolis, contained five hundred houses, and was surrounded with a wall, which was defended by three forts tolerably well provided with artillery, for that time. The second city in the island was Santo Yago, which was chiefly occupied by merchants and goldsmiths, and which was wretchedly fortified. The other places were only miserable towns, exposed on every side, and peopled by poor inhabitants.

On the northern coast, opposite Tortugas, the French had gradually formed a few dwellings, the population of which, in 1665, did not exceed 260 men. This very feeble commencement of a settlement, in a district very remote from the possessions of Spain, was scarcely noticed by that haughty nation; consequently the French had both leisure and means to consolidate their efforts. Their colony may, indeed, be compared to a young tree that has been planted in excellent soil, and which, having taken deep root, grows with rapidity. Those of the Spaniards, on the contrary, resembled an aged trunk, whose exhausted sap was altogether inadequate to its vegetation. The latter had no other resources than their own strength; while the French found protectors in those formidable Buccaneers and Free-

booters, who were devoted to their interests, and who then amounted to about three thousand, both on the shores of St. Domingo, and on the island of Tortugas. They styled themselves "*Brethren of the coast*:" they were men nearly savage, who aspired to perfect independence; and who could be governed only with a degree of prudence, that does not fall to the lot of every individual.

The coasts chiefly resorted to by the Free-booters, were those of Cumana, Carthagena, Porto-Bello, Cuba, and New Spain, together with those in the vicinity of the lakes of Maracaibo and Nicaragua. Ever rash and expeditious in their enterprizes, they were averse to minute particulars, which would have diminished their activity. Their ferocious cupidity, however, was not excited by every ship indiscriminately: in general, they permitted such as came from Europe to pass unmolested, as the carriage and disposal of their bulky cargoes would have been attended with too much trouble. They were attracted exclusively by such vessels as were on their return from America, laden only with gold, silver, and other valuable articles, for which they could procure a ready sale.

Such was the situation of St. Domingo on the arrival from France of the new governor, who was gifted with all the qualities requisite to his office. Ten years before, Ogeron had been shipwrecked on the coast of St. Domingo, and had been obliged to live for some time among the Buccaneers. Being thus acquainted with them, he found in his new post no difficulty in conciliating their esteem and regard, and inspiring them with respect for laws. He then attempted to expunge from their expeditions every thing that was odious in piracy, to render their bravery useful to the state, and to soften their manners; wisely, however, tolerating what he could not prevent, without exciting great prejudices against the French colonies.

The booty acquired by their vast enterprizes, both on shore and at sea, at length increased to such a degree, that the islands no longer presented sufficient purchasers for such commodities; and the Buccaneers found the latter no longer convenient to themselves than while they could exchange them for Spanish piasters; a circumstance which not a little contributed to establish in France a new West India company: and this example was shortly afterwards followed by the English.

A similar company, indeed, had already been formed, and had failed; but circumstances having now become more favourable, the French government adopted a new system with regard to their islands, and committed their fate to the speculations of a new company. The governor was ordered to announce this determination to the colonists, and persuade them to submit to it. The task was difficult. It was no easy undertaking to bring into subordination, men who had, till then, been strangers to the orders of a court, as well as to the yoke of dependence. Ogeron explained to them the nature of the alteration that was about to take place, and likewise the commercial prohibitions which were on the point of being established. The Free-booters replied, that they would not submit to a trading company; that they would willingly obey the king, but that he should not prohibit them from trading with the Dutch, with whom they were connected, which was of greater moment than the protection of France. To a declaration so explicit no reply could be made. Ogeron was obliged to recede.

In order that he might more easily accustom the new colonists to a quiet life, and in order to soften the rudeness of their manners, he had recourse to a singular expedient. He imported from France a cargo of young women, who on their arrival found husbands that were by no means difficult to please. The ready sale of this novel kind of

merchandize encouraged similar speculations, which were undertaken by the India company upon their own account. They selected and sent other women ; and the expence of their voyage was fully reimbursed by lovers who purchased them by auction. In the course of a short time, these attractive Europeans effected an astonishing change in the minds and manners of the American colonists, to whom they imparted,—not indeed a delicacy and degree of virtue, to which they in all probability were strangers, but at least some of those inclinations, tastes, and forms which are connected with a more refined state of civilization. They received in return, from the society of their hardy husbands, warlike dispositions, which were usefully developed under various circumstances. These benevolent emigrations, however, were shortly discontinued, to the great prejudice of the colony : their deficiency was very imperfectly supplied by hiring, for three years, women of abandoned lives, who were exported to the islands. Hence arose disorders of every description, which rendered it necessary to discontinue an expedient so disgraceful to morality, and so unfavourable to population.

The dwellings, which had for some time been established by the French on the northern coast of St. Domingo, were gradually extended under the direction of Ogeron, and at length converted into small plantations. For some unknown reason, this part of that island was denominated *Cul-de-Sac*,\* an appellation still given to a limited district in St. Domingo. The wise administration of the governor, which was devoid of every species of oppression, attracted thither many adventurers from other islands : and these regions would have acquired an uncommon degree of prosperity, if the French

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government had supported him. This however was not the case. While these transactions were taking place, a war broke out between France and Spain, in 1667, which would have affected the small settlements of the former power, if Ogeron had not dexterously succeeded in employing the Freebooters, who attacked ships of war, islands, and fortresses, with the completest success, spreading universal terror among the Spaniards of America.

Though he stood alone, and unsupported by the French government, Ogeron conceived the project of conquering the whole island of St. Domingo. Undismayed by the inattention of France, animated solely by patriotic motives, he dedicated his own estate to the execution of his enterprize. Several years afterwards he procured from France 300 men, at his own expence; and, as the scourge of war had extended to England, he formed the plan of attacking, from Tortugas, the island of Jamaica. From the measures he had adopted, that conquest appeared certain of success; the troops destined for the expedition were ready to embark; he was only waiting for gun-powder, which did not arrive.

Another plan, conceived by this spirited governor, was likewise frustrated by the neglect of the French court. He was desirous of establishing a colony in Florida, in order that he might command the canal of Bahama, and seize the commerce of the Spaniards. To accomplish this undertaking, he required only the moderate revenue of the island of Tortugas. France disdained to receive his project. She was at that time governed by the celebrated minister Colbert, to whom the French were indebted for the superiority of their manufactures during the seventeenth century, and who was doubtless, in this respect, the benefactor of his nation; but who, as far as colonies, navigation, and commerce were concerned, did not perhaps entertain ideas much superior to the narrow conceptions then prevalent.

In his estimation, the interests of colonies were unworthy the solitudes of government, and fit subjects only for the cares of trading companies. It was a favourite principle with him, that, provided these companies had their immunities, they could not mistake *their own* advantages; and that, in attending to their own interests, they would subserve those of the nation. France, therefore, beheld with indifference the English settle themselves in that part of Florida, which had been the object of Ogeron's views, and give it the name of Carolina, in compliment to their sovereign Charles II., notwithstanding it had theretofore been called French Florida, in consequence of two settlements which the French had previously made in that country.

Thus deprived of all assistance, Ogeron did every thing that was possible, and endeavoured at least to extend the French settlements along the northern and western coasts of St. Domingo. His efforts were facilitated by the Buccaneers, who pursued their former profession there, and who served as a garrison to that part of the island.

It was not till 1670, that the vexations, incidental to trading companies, excited a formal rebellion, which the conciliatory measures of Ogeron failed to tranquillize, so that he was reduced to the necessity of adopting serious steps. Unfortunately these produced no other effect than to destroy his popularity. Ships of war were dispatched to his assistance; but, after a few engagements, they were obliged to withdraw, without reducing the rebels to submission. At length they voluntarily returned to their duty; observing that during this disturbance no foreign ships arrived, and foreseeing that the continuance of this contest with the French government would also be attended with fatal consequences to themselves, they therefore submitted upon conditions, which the governor, who was left alone, was happy to accept. Exclusive of their pardon, they obtained

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a free privilege for all French ships to trade along the coasts of St. Domingo and Tortugas, on paying the company a duty of five per cent.

A single small detachment only, under the orders of one Limousin, a Frenchman, refused to adhere to this capitulation. Of this man Ogeron deemed it duty to make an example. Accompanied, therefore, by a priest and an executioner, he went in quest of that chieftain, whom he found a-sleep in his hut, and ordered to be immediately hanged. By this decisive step the rebellion was completely quelled. Other labours, moreover, succeeded those with which his leisure hours had been occupied. In 1673, France and Holland were involved in a war, which presented the prospect of a rich booty: allured by the desire of plunder, many colonists joined the Free-booters. In a short time hostilities were commenced against the Spaniards. Ogeron was persuaded that the most trifling support by the French government would have been sufficient to secure to him the conquest of the whole island of St. Domingo. He embarked for France, in order that he might personally solicit the necessary aids, but he arrived at Paris in an ill state of health, and died in that metropolis.

Notwithstanding he had possessed every means of making a fortune, he had continued poor, and left his heirs nothing but a most indisputable right to demand from the government the reimbursement of his expenditures, which they never obtained.

Most of Ogeron's measures of administration were sanctioned by Pouancey and Cussy, his immediate successors in the government of these numerous small colonies, who faithfully adhered to his fundamental principle of treating them with the greatest respect, and of drawing them into the service of France. These wise encouragements, added to the certainty of their finding secure asylums in case of a reverse of fortune, may possibly account for most of the audacious achievements by which these

celebrated Pirates have excited the astonishment of the world, and of which we are about to present an outline to the reader.

Previously to the circumstances which have been stated in the preceeding chapter, and which forced the Buccaneers and Free-booters to make a common cause, these two classes of men, having been attracted by mutual wants, had become reciprocally friends; and their animosity against the Spaniards had, in some measure, rendered them allies. From the beginning, this association had been formed by necessity. There were many articles necessary, both for their profession and for their support, which could only be procured from abroad,—a method of obtaining supplies that was attended with inconveniences; in order to remedy which, those Buccaneers who were least disposed to follow a hunting life, betook themselves to navigation. By this expedient they were enabled to fetch in their own canoes whatever they wanted. At first they procured supplies by means of exchange; but as they could often find nothing to barter or to purchase; and as they even failed in obtaining purchasers for their hides, they, oftener than once, had recourse to violent steps: these gradually led them on to a piracy, which at first was limited, and within the bounds of moderation, but which was afterwards reduced into a regular system.

These "*Brethren of the coast*," who lived together in the greatest harmony, were divided into three classes; the *Buccaneer hunters*, who were few in number, and some of whom applied themselves to cultivation; these by way of distinction from the rest were termed *Inhabitants*; and the *Free-booters*, properly so called, whose sole occupation consisted in *piracy*.

This profession was a source of profit that possessed great attractions for vagabonds, whose element was the sea. In a short time a very great number

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of seamen, collected from men of war as well as from merchant ships, of ruined colonists, and of other adventurers, without distinction of nation, of religion, or of language, joined themselves to the Free-booters; who at length formed an assemblage of French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, and other Europeans, united by one common interest,—*plunder*. The Spaniards only, whose treasures were the chief object of cupidity, were excluded from the favour of admission into this armed association.

This distribution of employment among the Free-booters was, in the beginning, effected only at Tortugas, and along the coasts of St. Domingo. At first indeed they were settled in the French island of St. Christopher; whence they sallied, under the governor's protection, with small ships, or some trifling cruises. In this situation, however, their existence was very precarious. They afterwards cast their eyes on the island of Tortugas, which they took from the Spaniards, from its favourable situation for their purposes; and which, in the hope of maintaining themselves there, they fixed upon for their constant residence. In consequence of this local change, they acquired a considerable degree of stability, that greatly facilitated the enterprizes by which they subsequently distinguished themselves. The occupation of Tortugas, which was by no means a difficult task, was the more attractive, because the whole northern coast of that island was inaccessible to vessels of every description, even to canoes; and also because there was throughout the southern shore only one port, or rather a safe road, the entrance to which was capable of being easily defended.

As the Spaniards were so rich in colonies, they had scarcely noticed this diminutive island: their garrison here amounted only to 25 men, who were without difficulty driven away, as soon as these Pirates (who had just organized themselves) had determined to

abandon St. Christopher, and settle themselves in Tortugas, of which they took possession in 1632. This measure, however, could not be observed with indifference by the Spaniards, who had been re-animated with courage by the safe arrival of their West India fleet at St. Domingo. In order to punish as well as to expel the usurpers, they fixed upon the time when the Buccaneers were occupied in the chase, and the Free-booters in their navigation. They landed, and massacred every inhabitant they met: many were hung by order of the general commandant of the Spanish fleet, who had the direction of this shameful conquest; the remainder were so fortunate as to take refuge, during the night, on board their canoes.

As soon, however, as the fleet had departed for Europe, they without difficulty resumed the possession of their favourite island. But the Free-booters, perceiving that its vicinity to a great colony would constantly expose it to attacks by the Spaniards, and without aid from Europe would be untenable, obtained leave from the French governor, the Chevalier de Pouncy, to put it into the possession of the French, under the command of an adventurer, named Levasseur. As soon as this was effected, they hastily erected a fort on a rock, situated on the sea coast; to which the Buccaneers and Free-booter speedily resorted in crowds from every quarter, under the persuasion that their future enterprizes would be supported by the governor of a great power, who was well affected to them, and consequently that they would be enabled to brave the Spaniards. The latter, indeed, attempted to re-conquer their small island; but the effort was late, and extremely unfortunate. The new possessors threw themselves into their fort, and, being powerfully seconded by the Buccaneers, repulsed the Spaniards with great loss.

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by two French officers whom he had adopted, and who wished to get possession of the island; but their plan was frustrated by the arrival of two men of war, under the command of the Chevalier de Fontenay, who assumed the government of Tortugas, and cultivated a good understanding with the Free-booters, whose strength daily increased.

The enterprizes of these men were highly favoured by the situation of their new acquisition: they were continually cruising along the coasts of St. Domingo, where no ships could arrive or depart thence without being seized and conducted to their comrades, whom they left on the following day, in order to recommence their cruises. The Spaniards, it may be easily conceived, spared no pains to oppose them: they collected together a considerable body of troops, landed on the island of Tortugas, and, climbing up by a narrow path to an eminence that commanded the small fort, they soon compelled the garrison to surrender. At first the Buccaneers were dispersed, but they speedily after returned, accompanied by their maritime allies, the Free-booters; and, having disembarked from their canoes under covert of the night, they carried the fort by assault, and again became masters of the island. With the view, however, of preserving a protection, the necessity of which they felt, they invested the French gentleman of Rausset, who has been already noticed, with the command of it; and their choice was confirmed by their powerful protector.

Thus their singular confederates continued to pursue their adventures: even in the midst of peace they carried on their piracies, sometimes under the French flag, at others under that of England, according as their caprice directed, or circumstances required. The treaty of the Pyrenees seemed to put an end to their transactions, yet from this very moment it is that we must date their formidable activity. In vain did the Spaniards present bitter complaints at

Paris and London against the excesses, which those courts appeared at least to tolerate; the latter invariably replied, that "it was not as subjects to the kings of France and England that the French and English Pirates committed their devastations; consequently that they might be treated with the utmost rigour; that no letter of marque had been granted to them; and that the governor of the islands had received the most explicit orders not to afford them any assistance." In order, however, to give the more weight to this political manœuvre, those governors were recalled, whom the Spanish court accused of favouring the Free-booters; but they were succeeded by others, who faithfully trod in the steps of their predecessors, and who carried their measures to a yet greater length.

The letters of marque which these Pirates succeeded in procuring, were carried into effect to the greatest extent. As soon as they had obtained them, they laughed at the treaties of peace that might have annulled them, and of which they pretended ignorance; and these patents, which it was no easy task to persuade them to surrender, imparted to their piracies a kind of legality. Thus they prolonged the period for which they had been granted until a new war broke out, and sanctioned their past as well as their future enterprizes. Farther, as France was at that time constantly at war, either openly or secretly, it was a circumstance of moment to that power to have in these distant regions bodies of intrepid combatants; who, being supported without any expence to her, were productive of great advantages, even in a pecuniary point of view; it having been decreed, with the formal consent of the French admiralty, that the tenth part of their booty should be delivered to the governor of Tortugas, or of St. Domingo. With the view, also, of increasing the mass of plunder, as well as in order to give an honourable appearance to the protection afforded by the French government,



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and to legitimate the piracies of the Free-booters, France procured them letters of marque from Portugal, who was then engaged in war with Spain. In a short space of time, therefore, the island of Tortugas became a real colony. A great number of Frenchmen came and settled there: from that period, as had been the case at St. Domingo, the hunting of wild cattle and boars was relinquished, and the Buccaneers renounced their occupations, the majority of them uniting with their former allies the Free-booters, and applying themselves to navigation.

Several families from Bretagne and Anjou crossed the seas: they were followed by detachments of young Frenchmen, who were attracted thither by the twofold allurements of plunder and of marriage, and who came to share the fortune of the Free-booters; so that the number of the latter was daily augmented.

This concurrence of circumstances seemed to enable their piracies, and thus ranked them among the most lawful of military enterprizes. Great numbers of colonists abandoned their useful and peaceable occupations, and procured small vessels, that they also might enrich themselves by cruising, in junction with the Free-booters. As, however, it was difficult to meet with vessels of this description, they ventured out in their armed canoes, with view of seizing some ship proper for their purpose. Their favourite plan was to station themselves near Cape Alvares, in order that they might observe the Spaniards, who were approaching these latitudes laden with provisions for the Havanna: it was attended with the most complete success. By this expedient they seized a considerable number of vessels richly laden, and conducted them to Tortugas, where they disposed of the entire cargoes to European navigators. Thus also they were enabled to provide themselves with every necessary for which they had occasion, and to undertake more extensive cruises. As soon as they had exchanged their canoes, and sometimes also their

wretched boats for ships, they scoured the Mexican coasts, and in a short time captured a great number of vessels, which were the more easy to surprize, as they least expected to be attacked in those latitudes. By this method they took, among others, two large Spanish ships, laden with silver, which were bound for Curacas : all these prizes were conducted to Tortugas, whither avarice attracted all that hoped to participate in them ; and in a little time there were upwards of twenty pirate ships.

The island of Tortugas was the rendezvous of the Free-booters : there they were sure of protection, as well as of meeting with whatever would satisfy their wants, and ever with a kind of pleasures adapted to the roughness of their manners. As soon as they had landed, tables covered with meat of various sorts, strong liquors, gaming, music, and dancing succeeded each other without intermission. Women of pleasure, of all nations and colours, attracted by gold and debauchery, resorted thither from all the American islands, and constituted the principal delight, as well as the chief dangers, of the tumultuous orgies.

At length, however, the French government disapproved of the continual and unlimited protection thus enjoyed by the Free-booters. At so great a distance, it thought itself able to appreciate this state of things better than its servants who were on the spot. In 1684, two commissioners, St. Laurent and Begon, were sent thither to reform all abuses : they arrived there, in the full persuasion that they must keep the Free-booters (whose number now amounted to 3,000) in a state of absolute dependance. They were astonished, whenever these marauders entered or departed from the French ports, that no formal informations were taken of the strength of their crews, the number of their dead, the value of their prizes, &c. They were surprized that they should be permitted to trade with the English, even during war ; that the administration of justice should also be

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relinquished to them; and that the tenth of all their captures, which had been stipulated to be paid to the protecting government, was not more strictly exacted. Doubtless the commissioners were not acquainted that all these privileges belonged peculiarly to this republic of Pirates; and that France, in consequence of the weakness of her power in America, could not manage them with too much prudence. In these respects they were speedily undeceived. They soon perceiv'd that, although the majority of the Free-booters were Frenchmen, and acknowledged the supremacy of France, yet they would not, with impunity, be thwarted in their ideas of independence; and that, on experiencing the slightest constraint, they would throw themselves into the protection of England. A change having thus taken place in sentiments, the French commissioners at length espoused, with their government, the cause of these men, whom they had purposed to bring into subjection.

It was not, however, so easy a task to bend the haughty spirit of Louis XIV. and his ministers. The Marquis de Seignelay wrote to the commissioners from Paris, that they had formed an erroneous opinion concerning the Free-booters; that "the commerce of Spain was not to be destroyed, because that power had less right to it than the other European nations; that the French derived the chief profit from it thence; and that the commissioners must, therefore, apply themselves in particular to diverting the Free-booters from their maritime cruises, and transform them into cultivators."

These ideas were doubtless dictated by sound policy, but it was almost impossible to carry them into execution. An effort, however, was made to perform the will of the court, by Cussèy, the governor, whose courage and virtues had acquired him the esteem of the Free-booters, and who had evinced

himself to be the worthy successor of Ogeron. But these Pirates, accustomed to the fatigues and disorders of an active life, revolted against the very proposition; withdrew their confidence from him; and, from that moment, became his declared enemies. In the mean time, as a truce with Spain had then suspended all military undertakings, Cussey obeyed the orders of his court, as far as circumstances would permit him. The consequence was, that the colony lost the half of that formidable body of soldiers, while the Free-booters only became more audacious, and undertook the celebrated expedition to the South Sea, which will be hereafter described, and which alone will sufficient immortalize their name.

### CHAP. III.

**B**EFORE, however, we proceed to narrate the astonishing adventures of the Free-booters, we shall concisely describe their manners, their mode of living, and the principles by which they were regulated.

The rules of their society consisted of little else than treaties of very limited duration, or which were even confined to particular expeditions, and which were sometimes infringed by the commanders, but scrupulously observed by the privateers.

As men, they unanimously conceived a lofty idea of their independence. When disengaged from actual service, every one followed his own whims, without troubling himself for the approbation of the rest. This kind of liberty prevailed even on board their small uncovered boats; where any of them, when prompted by caprice, sang or danced, at the risk of disturbing their comrades' sleep, who durst

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not, however, present any complaint; for all these contradictions were to be endured without murmuring, their object being to inspire the Free-booters with courage, to try their patience, to accustom them to privations, and to exercise their strength. This resignation formed an essential part of their principles: they were all mutually bound by an unmovable fidelity to each other; and whosoever violated it, by depriving his comrades of any part of their profits, was liable to the severest penalties. The offenders was declared to have forfeited his name and property as a Free-booter, and landed without provisions and clothes on a desert island, where he was abandoned without pity to his unfortunate fate.

Their patience was inexhaustible: they endured hunger, thirst, and the most excessive fatigues with unalterable serenity, and without permitting the slightest complaint to escape their lips.

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Their French name of *Flibuster* was a corruption of the English word *Free-booter*: although it reflected on their profession of Pirates or of robbers, they were not shocked with it. They preferred, indeed, their primitive name of *Buccaneers*, because it recalled the idea of a more honourable profession; but their favourite appellation was that of "*Brethren of the coast.*"

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The determinations of these extraordinary men were extremely rash, and almost always invariable. As soon as they had given their word, they were irrevocably bound by it; and they not unfrequently gave it on the bare proposal to become a party concerned in some enterprize. It was only after they had formed and adopted these resolutions, that they deliberated, not indeed on the probability or improbability of success, but solely on the best means of carrying it into execution.

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In the beginning of their adventures, they had only a few small ships, destitute of decks, wretchedly supplied with provisions, some barks, canoes, and plain

shallops, on board of which, piled one upon another, they could with difficulty lie down to sleep; and where they were exposed night and day to the inclemency of the weather, as well as to all the dangers of the sea, which were multiplied in so narrow a space, having scarcely any article of nourishment. This almost total state of destruction served only to call forth all their faculties, in order to better their situation by some rich captures. Tormented with hunger while they were rowing their frail skiffs, on the appearance of a ship, they calculated neither the number of the guns, the strength of the crew, nor the extent of the dangers they were about to encounter. They wished for victory; of which they were in pressing want; and they gained it, generally by boarding, in which kind of attack they excelled. With the velocity of lightning they boarded the ship thus surprized, and, from the appearance only of a small boat, unsuspecting of danger: the moment they were on deck the vessel was theirs. Whenever there was time to prepare for their reception, a single gun-shot would have been sufficient to sink them, but they avoided it by dexterously manœuvring at the time of embarkation. Besides they never presented their flanks to any ship, always advancing by one end; while the best marksmen turned round and killed or wounded some of the gunners, which necessarily created confusion on deck. The certainty that they had to contend with men whose valour conquered every obstacle, and who were sure of victory, rendered nugatory every means of defence. In general, they thought only of exciting the compassion of the Pirates by an immediate surrender; for it was well known that the latter, when irritated by resistance, made no hesitation in throwing the conquered into the sea.

It will, perhaps, appear scarcely credible, that these robbers, whose life was a continued series of vices and of crimes, should, like the celebrated

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banditti of Italy, evince a strong attachment to the external practices of religion. Such, however, was the case; previously to any engagement they performed their devotions; praying fervently, and severely beating their breasts, as though they were sincere penitents: afterwards they were mutually reconciled, asked each others pardon for any offences they might have given, and embraced each other, to evince their unanimity.

Accustomed to live in the woods, and less addicted to plunder, the Buccaneers were, in some respects, better than the Free-booters; from whom they also differed, having more enlarged ideas of religion, and sometimes performing the ceremonies of the church; while the Free-booters, though less vicious, scarcely paid any regard to religious doctrines or precepts. But this distinction ceased when the union of those two classes took place.

All the cotemporary writers who lived with them (and some of whom even participated in their pillage), concur in delineating these men as being more mischievous than any of the savage hordes of America that were most celebrated for their barbarity; and they add, that they were in no respect distinguishable from ferocious canibals, excepting that they boasted of a certain fidelity to each other, and that they abstained from eating human flesh. This portrait, however, is somewhat overcharged, as will be shewn in the subsequent part of this history.

Piracy was a source of too much profit, and a profession too congenial to the manners of these uncivilized men, for them not to devote themselves passionately to that pursuit. But in order to consolidate their association, as well as to render the fruits of their extortions more secure, and likewise to enjoy life after their own way, they deemed it expedient to establish a kind of order and agreement among themselves: hence originated the regulation, or

sort of code, which they swore to observe at their entrance into the society. They were utterly unacquainted with the Scriptures, and confirmed their oaths by a cross. The regulation above mentioned was a very concise collection of laws, which, with a few trifling modifications, were adopted by all these floating republics. After the extinction of the Free-booters, it continued in force among those Pirates who infested the remotest seas of America, during the war concerning the Spanish succession.

There are some articles in this code which are worthy of notice : it commenced by establishing the principle of perfect equality, and of the rights which resulted from it ; and enacted that, in every circumstance of consequence, each Brother of the coast should have the power of giving his vote ; that every one, in common with the rest, might claim an equal share of all the fresh provisions and strong liquors that should be taken, and make what use he pleased of his own share, unless a scarcity of necessaries and the interests of the community should require them to be given up ; which, however, could only be determined upon by a majority of votes.

Farther, to prevent all jealousy, and every occasion of discord, no woman or young girl was allowed on ship-board ; and, if any individual dared to introduce a female in disguise, he was punished with *death*. The same penalty was inflicted on those who deserted their ship, and also on such as abandoned their post during an engagement. A very severe punishment was likewise inflicted on pilfering.

By some of the small republics which composed the society, the rigour of these laws was mitigated ; while others, especially the French, carried their severity to a still higher degree. Among these last, whenever a comrade stole any article from another, they slit the offender's nose and ears, and conveyed him, not indeed to a desert island, but



to some spot where his situation could not but be deplorable. Whatever was so stolen, whether money or any effects belonging to the society, if it were worth only a single piaster, the thief was (what they called in their language) *maroné*; that is, he was exposed on the shore of some desert promontory, or some island, with no other provision than a fusee, some shot, a bottle of gun-powder, and another full of water.

Where the offence was doubtful, a jury was nominated to try it; in which case these robbers, if they were English or Dutch, and of course Protestants, were obliged to make oath on the bible; while the French and other Catholics swore upon the crucifix. Petty prevarications were punished by a judge, specially nominated by the maritime society, and who ordered the delinquent either to be bastinadoed, or to be whipped.

Often times, some of their bodies or smaller societies, by a plurality of votes, enacted particular laws, which could not be generally adopted. This was done according to circumstances, which regulated these barbarians as constantly as the compass. Thus, at certain periods, drunkenness, disobedience of a superior's orders, or the abandonment of a post, even when no enemy was near, was punished by the offenders forfeiting his share of the booty.

While on ship-board, all battles with one another were rigorously prohibited. If any dispute arose, it was deferred till they returned to land, when it was decided by the sabre or pistol, in the presence of a sea-officer. The antagonists first fired at each other, and if the shots missed, they resorted to the sabre. The party first wounded was declared to be conquered, and the duel was terminated.

Every Free-booter was obliged to keep his arms, viz. his fusee, pistol, and sabre, in the best order. This was, to them, both a kind of luxury, as well as an object of emulation. For a pair of pistols

they gave £20 or £30 sterling, and wore them suspended from the shoulder, fastened to bandoleers with party-coloured silk.

Conformably to their law, fire and candle were to be extinguished on ship-board at eight o'clock in the evening; at which time, all who were drinking were obliged to pour out the contents of their bottles and glasses upon deck. By another regulation they were prohibited from playing at cards or with dice, for money: but these two laws, the execution of which was intended to secure good order, were almost always violated; nor was it by any means an uncommon occurrence to see the commanders themselves set an example of their infringement, by excessive gambling and drinking.

Each society determined in what manner they were to proceed on dividing the booty. Every Freebooter made an agreement with his commander, in which he promised to obey the latter to the end of the cruise, on pain of forfeiting his share of plunder; and he was obliged to bind himself to the full performance of his compact by a solemn oath. In general these barbarians were not sparing of oaths. They were also made to swear, at the end of every expedition, that they had appropriated no part whatever of the capture to their own profit.

In these contracts every one was obliged to become a party, and he that was able to write signed them. A treaty or bargain was made with the commander who advanced the preparations necessary for the expedition, for which he was reimbursed out of the produce of the captures. A similar stipulation was made for all who were employed about the ship, for the surgeon, and for the master-carpenter. Those who were wounded, received an indemnity proportioned to the loss of their limbs:—for the right arm, 600 piasters, or six slaves; for the left arm or right leg, 500 piasters, or five slaves; for the left leg, 400 piasters; for an eye or finger, 100

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piasters, or one slave. All these indemnifications were levied on the captures previously to a partition: the captain had six shares, the other officers three, and some of them only two; to the remainder was allotted a single share. The ship's apprentices received the worst treatment, having no more than half a share above their moderate wages. And, besides participating in all the dangers and labours of navigation, they were charged with setting fire to such captured vessels as could not be disposed of at sea, or be brought into port for want of seamen to conduct them.

Exclusively, however, of this subdivision, there were rewards for illustrious actions. Whoever hauled down the flag of a ship, and planted in its stead that of the Free-booters, that is, either French or English colours (under one of which they sailed, according to circumstances and the wishes of the majority), received a bounty of fifty piasters.

At critical junctures, or when they were destitute of news concerning the enemy, he who succeeded in taking a prisoner, obtained a reward of one hundred piasters. There was likewise a premium of five piasters for every grenade thrown over the walls of a besieged fort.

An oath was taken by all the Brethren, either on the bible or upon a crucifix, that they would not conceal the smallest portion of their captures above the value of five sols: and the man who infringed this oath was banished from the society.

As soon as a ship was ready for sea, every one attached to the expedition was, on the first signal, to repair on board, and carry a fixed quantity of powder and lead.

Their provisions consisted of pork, and the salted flesh of tortoises; of which they furnished themselves with supplies in a very expeditious manner, often dispensing with payment even in the very island where they were protected. They marked, during night,

those estates wheres wine were kept, and summoned the keeper to deliver them a certain number. The slightest resistance, on his part, was expiated by a speedy death: the terror inspired by these murderers prevented all complaints against them, and secured their impunity.

Before they put to sea, it was a common practice with them to make their will. Their custom was, for each to choose himself a companion, with whom he shared what he already possessed, and whatever the captures might produce. Those who had wives and children, bequeathed only half their property to their comrade, the remainder being allotted to the family.

All the young women, and such as had agreeable figures, who had the misfortune to become the prey of these monsters, were treated like *beasts of burthen*: nor could they escape their ferocious tyranny but by suicide. Rarely indeed did it happen, that innocence and modesty found favour in their eyes: when several at once considered a lovely woman as their prize, they had recourse to the lot, in order to avoid all disputes. The winner took her to his home, and called her his wife; but she continued not the less common to their brutal pleasure, and their unanimity was by no means disturbed by jealousy. This species of fraternity received from them, as well as from the Buccaneers, the appellation of *matelotage*.

The Free-booters seemed scarcely able to devour or to destroy, with too much rapidity, the produce of their piracies: the moment they disembarked, they gave themselves up to the most singular whims imaginable. They arrayed themselves in the most magnificent dresses, overloaded with lace and embroidery; they purchased the most costly stuffs; and thus exhausted the warehouses of Tortugas and Jamaica, however well stocked they might have been. During their drunken revels, they broke whatever fell into their hands, plates and dishes, bottles and

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vases of every description. When representations were made to them of their extreme folly in squandering away, with such rapidity, riches that had been purchased at the expence of so many dangers and fatigues, they replied:—"Incessantly surrounded  
" by dangers, our situation is widely different from  
" that of other men. Let us live to day; to-mor-  
" row we may be dead. What good will it serve  
" to be frugal? We reckon our existence only by the  
" days we spend in pleasure; and we never think of  
" uncertain days that are to come. We had much  
" rather enjoy the life we now have, than think of  
" prolonging it by stinginess and privations."

With such principles, it may be easily conceived that their excesses were carried beyond all bounds: they mingled together in all their brutal enjoyments; among which those of drinking were never spared. Often did a troop of them join together to purchase a ton of wine, round which they crowded in groupes. They tapped it: glasses followed glasses, without intermission, in order to receive it: for want of vessels, they successively applied their mouths to the aperture of the ton, and thus continued drinking till it was completely empty.

Their chief food, especially while on shore, was the flesh of the tortoise; which is well flavoured, nourishing, and very wholesome. They thought it proper to remove all the gross humours produced by their gluttony, and that it was also a most certain remedy against every disorder when they ate nothing else. In fact, they had observed that, when they were ill, and particularly when attacked with the venereal disease, the use of this food impelled all the impurities of their bodies to the surface of the skin, and that, after the appearance of this eruption, their health became entirely re-established.

One trait more of their manners:—without doubt, it is peculiar to the spirit of their age, although it

cannot but excite astonishment in a society constantly occupied with murder and pillage, and which was, as it were, cast forth by hell in order to add to the misfortunes of mankind. Notwithstanding these robbers had scarcely any,—even the most faint,—ideas of religion, they prayed most fervently, and never began a single meal without previously repeating their prayers. The Catholics said the song of Zechariah, the *magnificat*, or the *miserere*; the Protestants either read a chapter in the bible, or repeated a psalm. Before an engagement, they never failed earnestly to beseech God to grant them victory and a good prize !!!

Such was the way of living adopted by those singular men. The following remark is subjoined, with a view to explain the birth and duration of their society.

The Spaniards had excited all the hatred of other nations; who envied them the gold and silver mines of their colonies. Their atrocious conduct in America, towards innocent and defenceless nations, had inspired a degree of horror, which was in no respect diminished in Europe. Their revolting pride; the recollection of their destructive wars, and especially of the horrid transactions they had committed in the Low Countries beneath the cloak of religion,—all concurred to render them the object of universal animosity. Those who took up arms against them, were apparently the supporters of a cause common to every other nation, and the avengers of outraged humanity. Hence associations were formed with the Free-booters, for the purpose of carrying on a war against the Spaniards, not only by many young persons, but also by men of maturer age, who were not misled into that undertaking by licentiousness, or poverty, or the love of plunder, but who were penetrated with animosity against that cruel and haughty people.

Such was the case with Monbars, a young gentle-

man of Languedoc; who, while at school, had heated his imagination by narratives of the conduct of the Spaniards in America, and had sworn an inveterate enmity against them. He was intoxicated with the idea of making them expiate, on the expiration of his minority, the death of so many millions of Indians who had been sacrificed to their rage.

Accordingly, as soon as he came of age, he dedicated the whole of his patrimony to the fitting out of a ship, and joined the Free-booters; among whom he was distinguished, both at sea and on shore, as one of their boldest and most able commanders. To him, plunder and a licentious life presented no charms; he was animated solely by revenge. He spared unarmed men; but no Spaniard, whom he found in arms, could escape his sword; from which circumstance he was called *The Destroyer*.

Many of the Free-booters professed similar principles: they would not even allow cupidity to be the chief motive of their continual battles with the Spaniards. They founded their right of carrying on war with that nation, on its avarice; which would not permit them to hunt on her islands, or to fish along her coasts, notwithstanding the vast extent of her possessions. In their opinion, therefore, this single circumstance was sufficient to legalize their hostilities against the Spaniards. Beneath this plausible pretext did the Free-booters veil their passion for plunder; and in their various enterprizes they were stimulated, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, by other nations, who were doubtless actuated to the adoption of such a measure by various motives.

## CHAP IV.

THE origin and commencement of the Free-booters, or *Brethren of the coast*, were so inconsiderable, as at first to excite no attention. With the exception of a few boats, they were destitute of every kind of ships, even of the smallest description: they had neither ammunition, pilots, nor provisions, and but little knowledge of navigation; and at length they were destitute even of money. But all these wants were compensated by their intrepidity, which surmounted every obstacle, and which daily increased with their successes.

On their first appearance they formed small societies, which, after the example of the Buccaneers, they termed *Matelotages*. In general, they united together to the number of twenty or thirty, procured an open boat, into which they crowded, and embarked upon a cruise. At first they confined themselves to giving chase to fishermens' boats and small craft; till, emboldened by success, they attacked ships of every size, and even men of war.

Their crews were admirably favoured by innumerable natural havens, gulphs, and small islands, which were for the most part deserted, but which abounded with provisions, especially fish, tortoises, marine birds, and excellent water. These islands were very easy of access for small embarcations, but could not be approached without imminent danger by large vessels, and still more so by ships.

The Free-booters commenced their organized piracies about the year 1600, and continued their depredations, with various modifications, till the end of the seventeenth century: if to these be added



their less important enterprizes, their continuance may be extended to the eighteenth century.

The first Free-booters were only common Pirates. Little did they foresee that their successors would in a short time have the audacity, openly, to brave Spain, whose power was at that time so great, and even to render themselves formidable to all Spanish America. At the period now referred to, they abandoned the West India seas, the confined theatre of their petty expeditions, and undertook voyages of longer duration. After coasting along the Azores and the islands of Cape Verd, they ventured in their frail barks as far as the coast of Guinea, and thence to Brasil: some of them advanced even to the East Indies. When their cruise had successfully terminated, they returned by Madagascar; where they landed, and spent the produce of their captures. Very few of them ever revisited Europe, which had given them birth, or even their American dwellings: but their successors formed a deliberate plan. The West Indies continued their principal theatre of their depredations, so long as those latitudes afforded them protection. The island of St. Christopher, and afterwards those of Tortugas, St. Domingo, and Jamaica, were their accustomed residences, or rather places of resort; and their piracies were confined to the American seas.

Tortugas, in particular, was regarded as their real place of abode; the planters of which island (already belonging to France) were, from a false policy, left altogether to themselves, with very circumscribed means, both of subsistence and of commerce. Being in the vicinity of St. Domingo, they were envious of its happy situation; and, in order to indemnify themselves for their own uncomfortable condition, they gradually formed a system of piracy, the object of which was, to procure by force that subsistence which they were denied by circumstances.

#### HISTORY OF THE PIRATES.

A Frenchman of Dieppe, Pierre le Grand, (which name afterwards became his heroic appellation), led the way in this course by a brilliant action, which excited emulation. He set sail with a pirate vessel, manned only by twenty-eight men; and, at the extremity of Cape Filburon, on the western coast of St. Domingo, met a Spanish ship, the crew of which amounted to upwards of two hundred men, and which was also mounted with cannon. She belonged to a fleet of merchantmen that were sailing towards Europe, but having been separated from the rest, was peaceably pursuing her route. As soon as the Pirates perceived her, they swore, one after another, on the hands of their chief, that they would capture her or perish, and immediately sailed directly to her. The sun was setting when they boarded the Spanish ship armed with pistols; in a moment they pierced their own bark in several places, which sunk almost beneath their feet, with every thing it contained. The ferocious conquerors slew every one that resisted, took possession of the magazine of arms, surprized the officers who were playing at cards in perfect security, and in a very short time made themselves masters of the ship. The Spaniards, who were thus unexpectedly attacked, perceiving no ship near them, considered these Pirates as demons that had fallen from the sky, and said one to another, "*these men are devils!*"—They surrendered without making any defence.

By this adventure, captain Pierre made a capture by which all his crew were suddenly enriched. Not wishing to run the risk of losing again the wealth thus rapidly gained, he landed all the Spanish sailors that were not absolutely necessary to work the ship, and immediately set sail for France. He returned no more to America; but the memory of his brilliant action left there a profound impression, which was not easily to be effaced.

Almost all the Spanish ships that appeared in those seas were successively attacked, and of course captured, of whatever size they might be, whether large or small, whether mounted with cannon or not, whether they were sailing alone, or in convoy. The wretched burks of the Free-booters gradually disappeared after the capture of so many fine ships, some of which were very large; and these Pirates, with their new acquisitions, scoured the seas with more security, and carried on their robberies upon a larger scale.

Now indeed the Spaniards paid more attention to the progress of the Free-booters, who threatened with utter destruction their vast commerce, as well as their navigation in the American seas. They therefore equipped two large men of war, in order to protect their coasts, and cruise against these formidable Pirates; who, however, became in consequence more active and more audacious. A large number of plunderers assembled together under their destroying flag.

Nor were the French the only nation that attacked the Spanish ships; they were chased by other nations, viz. the English, the Dutch, and especially by the Portuguese. Hence immense captures were made; the market for this pillage increased, the sale of their prizes became more easy, and their profession more attractive. In a short time Jamaica served as a place of refuge; and to such a degree did their numbers increase, that, notwithstanding their armaments, the Spaniards were for some time obliged to relinquish their navigation in those seas. They flattered themselves with the hope, that by presenting no prey for the Free-booters, they would reduce them into a state of inactivity, and consequently effect the dissolution of their society. But they were strangely deceived in their calculations. Weary of their unfruitful cruises, the Free-booters assembled together in larger bodies, conceived vast

plans, and determined to undertake the landing of men in form.

Lewis Scott, an Englishman, was the first who executed one of these schemes, which the Spaniards had not foreseen. He suddenly penetrated into the city of St. Francis, of Campechy, which he pillaged, and levied a heavy contribution upon it, threatening to burn it to ashes, and immediately afterwards re-embarked. This example was followed by John Davis, a native of Jamaica; who, with one ship and ninety men, attempted an action, the audacity of which excites astonishment.

He landed near Nicaragua, leaving his ship at anchor under the guard of ten of his companions in arms, the remainder he distributed into three canoes; and, availing himself of the darkness of the night, sailed up the river which leads to the city of Grenada. They met a sentinel, to whom they spoke Spanish, and passed for fishermen; afterwards they disembarked without encountering any obstacles, and massacred the soldiers, who had peaceably witnessed their landing; and having thus penetrated the middle of Nicaragua without discovery, they dispersed themselves throughout the town, and pillaged both houses and churches.

The cries of terror, which resounded on every side, put the inhabitants into motion. They tumultuously assembled together to defend themselves; but the Free-booters were too few in number to seek the dangerous honour of an engagement. Content with safely depositing their prizes, they hastily regained their canoes, and took with them some prisoners; as hostages, in case of accident. They successfully reached the coast, and after releasing their prisoners, they set sail with their plunder, at the very moment when some hundreds of armed Spaniards arrived in order to attack them. Their booty, which consisted both of silver and precious stones, was worth 40,000 piasters.

The Pirates landed at Jamaica, where they formed a fleet of eight ships, of which the intrepid Davis was appointed Admiral by his comrades. He immediately set sail towards the latitude of Cuba, in order that he might there watch the coming of the fleet from Mexico. Having failed in this enterprize, and being desirous of indemnifying his men for their loss, he landed at Florida, and pillaged the city of St. Augustin, in defiance of its fort, which was defended by two hundred men, who continued immoveable. Davis also signalized himself by other bold achievements: he landed on the coast of Grenada, whence he advanced into the South Sea; but, at length, for want of provisions, he was obliged to return.

Another chieftain of the Free-booters was a French gentleman, who was known only by his christian name (Alexander), to which, on account of his prodigious strength, had been added the surname of Iron Arm. His plan was to cruise only with one ship, which he called the *Phoenix*, and which was manned only by the most resolute men. In one of these cruises he encountered a violent tempest. The winds tore his sails to pieces, and threw down his masts; the lightning set fire to the powder magazine, and blew up into the air that part of the ship which contained it, together with all the Free-booters who were there. The ship, thus mantled, still floated; but the violence of the explosion cast the remainder of the crew into the sea; forty of whom (and among these unfortunates was their commander) were enabled to save themselves from the wreck, by the vicinity of the neighbouring coast. This place was an island near the *Dragon's Mouth*, and inhabited by Indians who had never been subdued, and who were formidable from their ferocity. The situation of the Pirates was horrible; they were destitute of every thing, and were also obliged to preserve themselves from the Indians. One day they were attacked by a large detachment of these savages, for whose recep-

tion they were prepared : several of them were slain, and some even were taken prisoners. Alexander released them ; but, previously to their departure, he wished, by an ingenious expedient, to inspire them with a terror, which should effectually take away their desire of returning. He caused a cuirass, made of very thick leather, to be stretched on a whalebone, and by signs invited them to attempt to penetrate it with their arrows. They shot these with equal dexterity and vigour ; but, notwithstanding their strength and sharpness, the arrows scarcely grazed the cuirass,—a circumstance which excited their astonishment in no small degree. Alexander afterwards shewed to them that the arms of the Free-booters were of a very different temper. One of them took his fusée, and having withdrawn six paces farther than the savage, discharged his piece. The shot went entirely through the cuirass, and even the whalebone to which it was attached. The stupified Indians approached, and examined the effect of the ball ; demanding one to shoot in their turn. Accordingly they placed it on their bow, which they bent, and shot ; but the ball fell at their feet. Thus Alexander made them conceive a high idea of his vigour, and gave them to understand that all his companions possessed equal strength with himself. This lesson produced the desired effect ; no Indian ever after making his appearance.

At length the Free-booters perceived at a distance a ship coming with full sail towards the shore. They concealed themselves, lest they should prevent her from approaching, and deliberated what steps it would be advisable for them to take. Some were of opinion that they should beseech the officers to take them on board : others were apprehensive for their liberty ; and, fearing yet greater danger, wished to prepare for self-defence. Alexander proceeded yet farther : in his opinion, it was of little use to defend themselves ; they ought to make

an attack, and with his proposal they all coincided. In the mean time the ship cast anchor: it was a Spanish merchantman, armed for war; whose crew were in want of water, which they had come to procure from that island, where it was excellent. The officers were far from suspecting that any Pirates were there; but, knowing the treachery of the islanders, they directed those, who were to fill the hogsheds, to advance with very great caution, and gave them an escort of their best soldiers, of whom they took the command in person.

The Free-booters observed the very great order in which their enemies marched, and that, from their superiority of numbers, it was only by attacking them suddenly, that they could obtain the victory. Accordingly they concealed themselves in a thick wood, whence they seized an opportunity of firing upon them. The Spaniards stopped to defend themselves; they looked around, but no person was visible: the species of arms, however, which had just been discharged, soon convinced them with whom they had to contend. With a view, therefore, to gain time, as well as to escape the danger of the moment, and to draw their adversaries out of their inaccessible ambuscade, they laid themselves flat upon the ground. The Pirates, who had been able to distinguish them, notwithstanding the thickness of the foliage, could not account for their sudden disappearance. Instigated by impatience, Alexander issued from his retreat in quest of the Spaniards, being accompanied by a few of his men. Suddenly, his adversaries arose; and, shouting horribly, rushed upon the Free-booters; whose commander was advancing directly towards the Spanish captain, when a root of a tree tripped up his feet, and threw him down close by the latter. The Spaniard, without giving him time to rise, was about to sever Alexander's head with his sabre;

when the latter, at this critical moment, saved himself by his extraordinary strength. While half fallen on the ground, he seized the Spaniard with a grasp, and stayed his arm: in a very short time he was up, on his feet, and called his men, who ran towards him from every side. The Spaniards, confounded and exhausted by fatigue, all bit the dust: and Alexander, in order to facilitate what yet remained to be done, ordered his comrades to spare not a single individual;—his commands were punctually obeyed.

In the mean time, those who continued on board, had heard the report of the musquetry, but entertained no apprehensions concerning their men; supposing them only to be engaged with the islanders, they contented themselves with firing a few cannon, in order to intimidate those savages. The Free-booters did not continue inactive after their victory: they stripped the dead, with whose apparel they arrayed themselves, not forgetting their large caps, which covered the whole of the head. Thus disguised, they shouted cries of victory; marched towards the shore, where they threw themselves into the shallops which were awaiting the return of the Spaniards that had disembarked; and at length joined the ship, in which, under cover of their disguise, they were received with transports of joy. As the greater part of the soldiers had been sent away on account of the landing, which had been attended with such fatal consequences, there remained on board only a very few soldiers, together with the seamen and passengers. Their security rendered their defeat easy; and, with the exception of a few sailors, they were all massacred. Thus the Free-booters made themselves masters of a ship richly laden, and arrived without any accident at Tortugas, - after a series of occurrences, which evinced at the same time their good fortune, their boldness, and their ferocity.



Among their various chieftains, however, there was none who signalized himself more than Olonois, both by his astonishing actions, and also by his singular fate.

He was a native of Sables d'Olonne, in Poitou; whence he derived the only name by which he was known. At first, he was merely one of those uncivilized men whose occupation consisted in hunting wild cattle in the island of St. Domingo. By his boldness he had acquired a kind of celebrity: afterwards he became a Free-booter, and equally distinguished himself on the sea. His courage was blended with much prudence and address: this circumstance induced La Place, the governor of Tortugas, to press him to embark in cruising expeditions; and he even presented Olonois with a ship, with which he shortly became the terror of the Spaniards in America. His exploits and his cruelties were every-where the subject of conversation; and for a long time every circumstance was propitious to him. The winds favoured him, and easy engagements put him in possession of the richest prizes; but his stars appeared in a moment to abandon him. He lost his ship in a tempest, during which she ran aground on the shore of Campechy. His crew saved themselves on the coast; but a strong body of Spaniards attacked them, and slew the chief part. Olonois himself was wounded, and saved his life only by a stratagem. He stained his body and countenance with blood, and threw himself among the dead, where he continued immovable until the Spaniards were withdrawn. He afterwards escaped into the woods, where he dressed his wounds in the best manner he was able; and, having put on the clothes of one of the Spaniards who had fallen on the field of battle, he boldly approached the city under this disguise. There he found means to gain over some slaves, who joined him. At length

he had the audacity to enter the town itself; where several of his comrades were in irons, and the inhabitants of which were rejoicing at his death. Here he had the good fortune to continue unknown for some time, during which he incessantly pursued his plans. His new associates stole a boat, in which he escaped with them, and fortunately regained the island of Tortugas.

From this period his exasperation against the Spaniards knew no bounds; but, his disasters having reduced him to poverty, he could not without very great difficulty arm two small vessels, manned by twenty-one men. He conducted them to the island of Cuba, in order to pillage the city of Los Cayos, which then carried on an extensive trade. Some fishermen, however, having opportunely discovered this armament of Free-booters, gave the alarm; and the governor of the Havanna immediately dispatched, for the assistance of the inhabitants, a frigate mounting six canons, and manned with a crew of ninety men. Four other small ships, well equipped, which were watering at Puerto del Principe, in the island of Cuba, were to join this frigate; and the plan of Olonois was, to all appearance, overturned without resource. The governor's order was, not to return without extirpating all these Pirates: he even exacted an oath of the commander, that he would not spare a single individual; and gave him a negro, who was to discharge all the duties of an executioner.

Olonois being informed of these measures, got the start of the re-union of the four vessels; and went, with his two barks to meet the frigate, which he approached during the night. At day-break she was suddenly boarded on both sides: the Spaniards opposed this intrepid attempt with much valour; but at length these ninety men yielded to the exertions of one-and-twenty Free-booters; who rushed, sabre in hand, down into the hold. As soon as he had taken

Full possession of the ship, Oloñois made the prisoners ascend, one after another, and with his own hand cut off their heads, without sparing even the negro, who was to have served as an executioner: and (which makes one tremble with horror) as this monster cut off each head, he licked his sabre which reeked with blood. One Spaniard only was spared, for the express purpose of informing the governor, that, "in order to revenge himself for the sentence of death which had been issued against him, he would shew no mercy to any Spaniard; and that he hoped shortly to inflict the same fate upon Monsieur the governor himself, into whose hands he was fully determined never to fall, while alive."

At the same time he promised, that the four vessels, which had been sent out against him, should by no means escape him: he therefore immediately sailed towards *Puerto del Principe*, where he met and captured them, without experiencing any resistance. At this place he could take no prizes, he found only what was sufficient for his exasperation,—new vengeance to exercise. He caused the whole crew of these four ships to be thrown into the sea, and ran them aground upon the coast.

Thus Oloñois found himself in possession of a considerable ship, but he was destitute both of seamen and also of provisions. It therefore became necessary that he should think of a return: but, before he carried this idea into execution, he set sail for the port of Maracáibo; in the vicinity of which he likewise captured a vessel richly laden; and at length resumed the road to Tortugas.

## CHAP. V.

FROM this period Olonois conceived vast projects. He associated with another Free-booter, named Basco, formerly an officer, born in France, but originally from Spain; who had for a long time served in the army, in Europe; had afterwards acquired great wealth in America by cruising; and who at length had determined to give himself up to retirement. To complete his plan, Olonois had need of a man who was already known from his achievements, and especially of one who was skilled in war by land; he therefore drew Basco from his inactivity. These two captains divided their forces, both marine and military, which amounted to 650 men, and dispersed them on board eight ships armed with cannon. That of Olonois carried seventeen; the remaining seven carried a smaller number. The arms of the two commanders were, a musquet, two pistols, and a sabre.

The year 1660 was the period of that memorable enterprize, which was followed by several others of the same description. At first the two piratical chieftains bent their course towards the western shore of the island of St. Domingo, to Cape Engano; where fortune, as usual, decided in favour of these plunderers. Scarcely had they arrived there, when they perceived a Spanish ship at a distance. Olonois left the whole of his flotilla behind, and advanced only with his own ship. The Spaniards, who had seventeen cannon, and sixty soldiers, beside the crew, did not evade an engagement. The battle continued three hours, and terminated by the surrender of the ship; which

was laden with 100,000lbs. of cacao, 40,000 piasters in silver, and precious stones to the value of ten thousand. In the mean time the other barks had taken possession of another ship, mounting eight cannons, and laden with powder, fusees, and chests of money, that was intended for the garrison of St. Domingo. They afterwards set sail for Maracäibo.

This town belongs to the province of Venezuela, and is situated on the shore of an extensive lake; the number of its inhabitants amounted to five or six thousand, who carried on a considerable trade. The avenues to this place were protected by two islands, and by the fort of La Barra, erected behind a sand-bank; near which the lake, whose circumference exceeded sixty leagues, discharged itself into the sea, after receiving the waters of seventy rivers or currents.

The Free-booters landed at some distance from the fort; the commandant of which was on his guard, and had sent a large detachment in quest of intelligence. His soldiers were placed in ambush, but were detected; part of them were slain, and the remainder defeated. One only escaped, and conveyed the fatal news to the fort; which Olonois immediately ordered to be assaulted. It stood on an eminence, and was garrisoned by two hundred and fifty men, protected by large bastions and seventeen cannon of considerable bore; with which the Spaniards annoyed the assailants. These, indeed, had no other arms than their sabres and pistols; yet, in four hours, the fort was carried, and the whole of its garrison cut to pieces. This event being communicated to the pirates' fleet, by signals, they approached the city of Maracäibo, which was six marine leagues distant from the fort.

The utmost confusion prevailed there; the arrival of the Free-booters being announced by the fugi-

tives. The inhabitants, who had already received a similar visit, and who knew they had every thing to apprehend from those plunderers, were in the greatest consternation. They thought of nothing but their safety. Several hundreds rushed into boats, together with their wives, children, and property, in order that they might take refuge in the town of Gibraltar, which was forty marine leagues distant. The remainder saved themselves in the woods; even the aged and the sick were carried away; so that the place was in a moment deserted by all its inhabitants, who left there the chief part of their property and articles of trade, together with immense stores of bread, meal, salt-meat, game, wine, and brandy.

The Free-booters, however, who were now more prudent than covetous, were some time before they ascertained the vast prize which awaited them. They were busied in making arrangements that were more pressing. With this view they completely destroyed the fort of *La Barra*, spiked the cannon, burnt every thing that was not portable, buried their dead, and caused the wounded to be carried on ship-board; after which their detachments, having assembled together, marched into *Maracúibo*. What was their surprize, on beholding that extensive town entirely deserted! They took possession of the best houses, established posts, and made the largest church their principal guard-house: and their eagerness, which had been excited by so many fatigues and by long privations, found ample gratification in the great abundance of provisions that had been left behind.

On the following day six hundred Free-booters were sent into the woods, in quest of fugitives; they returned the same evening, bringing with them twenty prisoners, several mules laden with plunder, and twenty thousand piasters. Some of the prisoners were put to the torture, in order

that they might confess where their countrymen had concealed their effects. The barbarous Olo-nois pushed his cruelty so far as to massacre one of them, to intimidate the rest; but the unfortunate wretches had nothing to disclose. The fugitives had carried with them all their gold and silver, and had withdrawn further into the woods; where, being protected by forts and soldiers, they thought themselves tolerably secure. But nothing could escape the rapacity of these plunderers, who, after residing fifteen days at Maracaibo, determined to march towards Gibraltar. Information of their resolutions was opportunely conveyed thither, and preparations were made for their reception.

That town carried on an extensive trade in tobacco, and in its vicinity was produced the best cacao in America; it was situated on the shore of a beautiful lake, in a fertile plain covered with acajou trees, and watered by several rivers. On one side ran a vast chain of mountains, called the mountains of Gibraltar: at the back of these lofty mountains, which were always covered with snow, there were several towns, the largest and nearest was *Merida*. This was the usual place of resort of all the people of fortune in Gibraltar, during the rainy season, which was extremely unhealthy; so that only artisans and the poorest classes of people continued to reside there. The unfortunate persons, who had fled before the Freebooters, came there to seek an asylum near the inhabitants of Merida, whose hospitality and assistance they implored. Their entreaties were not in vain. The governor, Merteda, was a veteran soldier, who had acquired fame in the Flemish wars, and who came in person with four hundred men well armed, to whom were added an equal number of inhabitants from Gibraltar. These eight hundred men hastily erected batteries on the sea coast, rendered impassable a deep road on the

land side that led to the town, and opened a new passage through the woods across a marshy country. In this situation they awaited the approach of the Free-booters; who, unsuspecting of these preparations for their reception, had embarked for Gibraltar, together with their prisoners, and all their plunder.

Their fleet had been three days on their passage, which was approaching to an end. The Free-booters saw before them the town, as well as the numerous country residences with which its vicinity was decorated. But, on beholding the measures which had been taken for its defence,—the intrenchments cut in the ground, inundated fields, hollow roads, and batteries,—they experienced, for some moments, a sensation which to them was altogether novel and unknown. They were struck with a panic, for which Oronois deemed it necessary to find a speedy remedy. He therefore immediately called a council of war, and fairly represented to his comrades their real situation.—“We cannot dissemble,” said he, “the success of our enterprise is opposed by great difficulties: the Spaniards have had time to put themselves on the defensive. They have large bodies of soldiers, many cannons, and doubtless abundance of ammunition. But this is of no consequence, comrades; let us not lose our courage. We must defend ourselves like brave men; or we must lose, with our life, these treasures which have cost us so much labour and blood. Here, however, a rich prey is waiting for us. Fix your eyes on your chieftain, and follow his example. There was a time when, with much inferior forces, we have conquered enemies far more numerous than those we must shut up in this town. And after all, the more they are, the greater will be our glory, and the richer will be our booty.”

This short address from a chieftain, who knew



what kind of men he had under his command, and who was acquainted with the mode of awakening their passions, produced a decisive effect. They all swore to follow him, even to death.

In general, the Free-booters were less apprehensive for their lives, than for the loss of their riches, whether in possession or expectancy: for, here, they thought to find accumulated all the wealth of Maracaibo, Gibraltar, and the whole of the neighbouring countries. Behold them, then, ready to brave every danger. Olonois replied to their oath in the following energetic manner:—" *Let us march on, then; but take especial care what you are going to do. Whoever, from this moment, first betrays the least fear, dies by my own hand!*"

Three hundred and eighty men disembarked before sun-rise; whose arms consisted of a short sabre or cutlass, pistols, and powder and shot for thirty charges. They shook each other by the hand, as a mark of courage, and commenced their march under the conduct of a guide, who was devoted to them; but who, being utterly ignorant of the measures adopted by the governor, led them to the hollow road, through which they could not pass. They wished to take another route across the marshy wood; but they found themselves knee-deep in water, and expected every moment to be drowned. From this embarrassment, however, they extricated themselves, by cutting the bushy branches, which consolidated the earth, and advanced; being incessantly fired upon from a battery that enfiladed the road. Many fell beneath the fire of this artillery; who, with their expiring breath, exhorted their comrades to continue their march, and assured them of victory. At length the brigands reached the wood, and found solid ground. They then hoped to advance with less difficulty; but suddenly they were exposed to another battery of twenty guns, which cleared their first ranks. They

were obliged to retreat, and re-entered the marshy road, where the first battery was still waiting to gall them.

Olonois had not participated in the trifling disgrace of this retrograde march: with a band of men he had penetrated as far as the bottom of the fort. But all their courage was useless: without ladders, it was impossible for them to mount upon the bastions; they had only to perish in this situation, and were every one in despair but Olonois.

That intrepid chieftain, however, over whom the fear of death had lost its power, preserved all his presence of mind, even at this difficult crisis, and conceived a military stratagem, pretending, together with his men, to betake themselves to flight. The Spaniards, who had all their forces concentrated at this point, thought the moment arrived when they could by a single blow exterminate their ferocious enemies; in order to pursue whom they abandoned the fort. The scene now changed: the Free-booters, observing the batteries to be silent, and that they could make use of their cutlasses, turned suddenly round, and furiously attacked the Spaniards. They had to avenge the death of their comrades; their rage was boundless; and they slew every Spaniard their hangers could reach. The rest were pursued into the woods, while a body of Free-booters rushed into the principal fort, of which they took possession. The Spanish soldiers, who were guarding the other fort, surrendered without resistance, on the sole condition of having their lives spared. Upwards of five hundred Spaniards fell this day, beside those who were wounded in the town, and those who went into the woods to breathe their last. In these bloody engagements nearly all their officers were slain; and here the governor himself terminated his honourable career. Neither Olonois nor Basco were wounded; but they lost a considerable number of

their brave comrades; forty of these lay dead on the spot, and sixty-eight were wounded, most of whom died in consequence of their wounds, for want of due attention.

Those who survived such dearly bought success gave themselves up, with their accustomed frenzy, to the delirium of victory. They had taken fifty prisoners, whom they shut up in the principal church, together with a great number of women and children; and five hundred slaves also formed part of their booty. In order to get rid of the dead bodies of their enemies, they loaded two large ships that were out of service with corpses, which were conducted to the sea, and there sunk to the bottom.

The city was afterwards regularly plundered. Whatever was valuable, or capable of being carried away, was collected together. This business occupied the Free-booters four weeks, during which interval most of the prisoners perished with hunger: for their ferocious conquerors had carried on board their own ships the remaining stock of provisions; and a little ass's flesh constituted the whole support of these unfortunate persons. The women who, either voluntarily or by compulsion, served to gratify the brutal lust of the Pirates, received better treatment; and the desire of life induced nearly all to surrender themselves. Beside this, the prisoners were tortured in every possible way, in order to compel them to reveal the places where their own effects, together with those of their fellow-countrymen, were concealed. In vain did they plead their poverty, or their ignorance. A great number of them expired amid the most cruel tortures.

Olonois, who could never be satisfied either with success or with plunder, and who was incessantly aspiring after new dangers, wished to penetrate forty leagues up the country, as far as the city of Merida.

This his companions in arms positively refused; he therefore submitted. A longer residence on the theatre of their slaughter would have become fatal. After disposing of the bodies of the slain, they no longer troubled themselves with those who, on both sides, were dead of their wounds. Some indeed had been rather hoaped together, than buried; all the rest became the food of birds and insects.

This disgusting negligence, beneath so hot a climate, produced a contagious distemper, which attacked a great number of these ferocious conquerors, some of whom died suddenly, while others beheld their wounds re-open. They all saw the pressing necessity of quitting this country; previously, however, to their departure, they sent four of their prisoners into the woods, to summon the fugitive Spaniards to pay, within two days, a ransom of ten thousand piasters, otherwise the town should be reduced to ashes. The time expired without the arrival of the money, and the Free-booters began to set the town on fire. At the pressing instances of the Spaniards, who promised that the ransom should be paid, the fire was suspended; efforts were even made to distinguish the flames, which had already continued six hours; the fire had consumed great part of the town, and the principal church. At length the sum required arrived, together with a ransom extraordinary for the prisoners. From that moment the Pirates embarked with all their booty, carrying with them all the slaves who had not been redeemed, and returned to Maracáibo. The inhabitants had re-entered that place; their despair was re-awakened at the return of the Free-booters; who informed them, that, unless they paid without delay thirty thousand piasters, their town should be plundered a-new, and afterwards reduced to ashes. The inhabitants capitulated, and made an offer of twenty thousand piasters and five hundred cows, which tender was

accepted. In order, however, to occupy their leisure moments, while they were waiting for the result of these deliberations, the Free-booters landed and plundered the churches; whence they carried the pictures, ornaments, relics, crucifixes, and even the bells. The whole was deposited on board their ships. On this occasion they were not animated by the thirst of plunder, but (as they thought) by a pious motive. They were desirous of erecting a chapel on the island of Tortugas, and the hapless Spaniards defrayed the expence of its decoration. At length the ransom was paid, and the Free-booters embarked.

They took their route by the island of Avache, on the south of St. Domingo; it was inhabited by the Buccaneers, who lived there in tolerable peace, and under whose protection the Free-booters there found a staple. It was at this place they supplied themselves with meat, for which these wild hunters made them pay dearly; and here they proceeded, as soon as they arrived, to divide the booty; after every man had placed his fingers on a crucifix, or a bible, and renewed the oath of having stolen nothing. The value of this plunder, exclusive of the moveables which were destined for pious purposes, amounted to 260,000 planters; of which each Free-booter, that had not been wounded, had one hundred for his portion. The shares of the dead were set apart, in order that they might be delivered to their parents and friends. After this division, Olonois with his fleet set sail for his usual retreat, the island of Tortugas; where two French ships, laden with wine and brandy, had just arrived. With this supply of strong liquors, the produce of so many pillages and dangers and cruelties was in a few weeks consumed.

In a short time Olonois prepared himself for a new expedition, for which he destined six vessels manned by seven hundred men, three hundred of

whom were on board the principal ship, commanded by himself. His intention was to return to Nicaragua, but the fleet had to contend with contrary winds; it was successively becalmed for a long time, and tossed about by violent tempests, and at length was driven into the bay of Honduras. The Free-booters began to be in want of provisions; to procure a supply of which they made some descents along the bay, and pillaged some villages, but could not obtain a sufficiency. They arrived at Puerto-Cavello, where the Spaniards had a staple for merchandize. Here the Free-booters found a forty-gun ship of war, unprepared for action, which they took, almost without opposition; and, having landed, they reduced all the warehouses and dwelling houses to ashes.

The articles thus consumed were cochineal, indigo, hides, sarsaparilla, &c. which had been deposited at Puerto-Cavello, and were destined for Guatemala. What did these barbarous depredators now do? As they could only load themselves with the valuable metals, with diamonds, and similar precious articles of small bulk, they, conformably to their horrible practice, tortured the inhabitants, in order to compel them to disclose where they had concealed their effects. Of a great number their tongues were torn out of their mouths; while others were massacred, after having suffered the most exquisitely cruel punishments. Olonois spared two only, that they might serve him as guides towards the city of San Pedro, which was twelve leagues distant; and whither he marched in person, with 300 men, leaving Moses Van Vin, his second in command, and the rest of the crew on board the ships. But before he advanced, he repeated to his men, that whoever should withdraw, should perish by his hand. They departed: in the mean time they were observed by a body of Spaniards, who had entrenched themselves in an ambuscade, and

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were protected by a thick wood. The advantage afforded by this position could not save them. The first step taken by the commander of these robbers, was to kill his two guides, notwithstanding they were utterly ignorant of the ambuscade. He then rushed instantly upon the Spaniards, of whom a few only escaped; the remainder fell upon the spot, even the wounded being cut to pieces by the barbarous Free-booters. Olonois, however, spared the lives of a few prisoners, in order they that might shew him some other road leading to San Pedro; or, at least, that, by their assistance, he might discover the other ambuscades. The prisoners, who were very little disposed to betray their countrymen, swore that they knew nothing concerning them. Infuriated by this account, Olonois stabbed one of them with his sabre, and tore out his heart, which he devoured with the ferocity of a wild beast, at the same time uttering the most horrid imprecations against the Spanish prisoners. The latter, intimidated by this canibal transaction, at length confessed that he had yet to pass two detachments concealed in the marshes, and which it was impossible to avoid, as there was no other road leading to the city. Olonois determined to attack these two formidable bodies. In fact he fell upon both detachments, which he successfully repulsed with some loss. Notwithstanding the Free-booters were ready to fall with fatigue, their resolution continued to support them, and they pursued their march. At length they reached a wood, which was only two small leagues distant from San Pedro; here, tormented by fatigue, hunger, and thirst, they halted, and spent the night.

On the following day they approached the city, which they found had been carefully fortified. It was entirely surrounded with a thorny hedge, the sharp points of which were much more dangerous than the cultrops usually employed to keep off caval-

ry, and to defend the approach to fortresses. This obstacle must have proved the more difficult as they marched *bare-footed*, and the whole of their apparel consisted only of a shirt and linen trowsers. They advanced, however, exposing their bodies to be painfully lacerated, while they braved a very sharp firing from a battery. Their attack continued four hours, during which the Spaniards defended themselves most desperately. At length they requested to capitulate, stipulating only for two hours rest; of this interval they designed to avail themselves, in order that they might carry away or conceal their most valuable effects, or, if it were possible, that they might attempt an escape. This respite was granted by the Free-booters, who were themselves exhausted by fatigue; and who refrained from all hostilities during the two hours, notwithstanding the Spaniards were carrying away, before their eyes, every article of value. The moment, however, the time expired, Olonois ordered the fugitives to be pursued, all their baggage to be taken from them, and that they should be brought back prisoners. These commands were instantaneously executed.

This victory cost the Free-booters thirty killed and wounded. Shortly after the enterprizing Olonois conceived a new plan, which he proposed to those around him. He wished to send for the men who had been left at sea, and to march to Guatemala; but this request was positively denied by his companions in arms. They exclaimed against the smallness of their numbers; in their opinion, the plan was extremely rash, and utterly impracticable. In fact, to the inconvenience resulting from the greatness of the distance, were added, not only the difficulties of the road, but also the means of defence which Guatemala possessed, in its vast circumference and its well appointed garrison, amounting to upwards of 4,000 men. Thus had Olonois the mortification to see his ideas thwarted by the compa-



nions of his ravages, who were less extravagant than himself. They continued sixteen days longer at San Pedro, whence they carried away every thing that was portable, and on their departure set the city on fire.

The Pirates regained their ships, with plunder to a considerable amount; but as they could not yet remedy their want of necessaries, they were obliged not to withdraw, but to resort to the different islands which were in the vicinity of the bay. With the sole view of procuring provisions, they undertook a cruise in the peninsula of Yucatan, placing two canoes upon the look-out. They caught abundance of tortoises; to take which, their industry prompted them to make nets with the fibrous bark of certain trees. The produce of their fishery was sufficient to place them above the reach of hunger. Each ship cruised on its own account, being solely occupied in supplying provisions for its crew. Olonois himself cruised apart with his own vessel. In this bay they continued upwards of three months. Here he waited for a richly laden Spanish ship, of whose near arrival he had been informed: it was one of those very capacious vessels which were every year dispatched from Spain to Guatimala with a cargo consisting of the finest productions of Europe. At length the ship appeared in sight, but under a very formidable aspect, being prepared for an engagement, and carrying fifty-six cannons, besides several other sorts of fire arms then in use, a great quantity of ammunition, and three hundred soldiers. Without waiting for the rest of his fleet, Olonois impetuously attacked the Spaniard with his own ship alone, which carried twenty-two guns. His enterprising boldness was this time frustrated; the Spaniards defended themselves with courage, repulsed the Pirates, and obliged them to retire.

The Free-booters, nevertheless, persisted in their undertaking. Favoured by a thick fog, Olonois,

without being perceived, filled four boats with his intrepid companions, and, having joined them, he in a moment boarded and took the ship. The victors, however, found to their great regret that there had been sufficient time to send off the chief part of her cargo; and that the vessel afforded them a prize of little value. The cargo, indeed, was reduced to a few chests of manufactured merchandizes of bar iron, and two thousand bales of paper; upwards of one million of piasters had been landed. All these troops of robbers were in despair, on thus seeing their calculations frustrated; especially such as had recently enrolled themselves in the very speedy expectation of a rich booty, and who, having till this moment experienced nothing but wretchedness, were extremely discontented, and wished to return. The veterans, however, declared they would rather die than leave these latitudes, without making some capture.

Olonois thought he might seize this circumstance, in order to call a council of war, and again propose the expedition to Guatemala. This was the signal of total discord: a division took place among the whole body of Free-booters. The major part associated with Moses Van Vin, who was the chief of the mal-contents, and who secretly escaped with the fifty-six gun ship that had just been taken. Another commander, denominated *Peter the Picard*, from the country which gave him birth, also separated, but without siding with Van Vin. They both departed, with their respective associates, in order to carry their piracies into different latitudes.

The plan of the former (Moses) was, to sail towards Tortugas with his ship of war, (which, without effecting any other capture from the enemy, would alone be sufficient to acquire the Free-booters credit), there to supply himself with necessaries, and embark on a more distant cruise. Fortune, however, determined otherwise. The ship ran aground

on a sand bank, and, though nearly all the Pirates on board were saved, this accident overturned all their plans of pillage, and compelled them to disperse in various directions.

In the mean time Olonois continued with his partisans, on board a large ship in the bay of Honduras, cruising in every direction, ever expecting some fortunate event, but constantly suffering from the want of provisions. Daily were his crew obliged to land, for the purpose of catching apes and other animals, whose flesh consisted their whole sustenance. At night they set sail. The situation of these Pirates, however, grew progressively worse, till at length their ship struck on a sand bank near the small island of *Las Perlas*, at some distance from the Cape *Gracias-à-Dios*. In vain did they throw into the sea their guns and every weighty article, in order to lighten her. The vessel could not be set afloat; but all the Free-booters saved themselves by reaching the shore. There they speedily pulled their ship to pieces, and with her fragments built a large canoe. This was a tedious undertaking. In the mean time they erected huts along the coast, and sowed pulse of various kinds, which, in that mild climate, vegetated and were ripe in six weeks. They could now be no longer recognised. Necessity had rendered them peaceable and industrious; and they might even have been taken for a rising colony. Their time was occupied by tillage, hunting, and fishing. Their chief labour, the building of their canoe, did not terminate till the end of five months: but as they were too numerous for it to contain them all, it was agreed that the boat should be conducted to the river *St. John* (by the Spaniards called *Desaguadera*), and that other vessels should there be procured, with which those were to be fetched who were obliged to stay behind. The lot decided who were first to go; and those on whom it fell embarked with Olonois at their head.

But the good fortune of that chieftain was apparently exhausted. Scarcely had they reached the river St. John, when they were attacked on every side by the Spaniards, who were re-inforced by the neighbouring Indians. These savages had, by their courage, inspired the Spaniards with a degree of esteem, and were by them called *los Indios bravos*: the combined attacks of these two kinds of enemies were irresistible; and the greater part of the Free-booters fell on the spot.

Olenois and a few others survived this defeat. Undismayed by the reverse of fortune; he did not abandon the plan of capturing some vessels, for the purpose of fetching his comrades; and, with this intention he set sail for the coast of Carthagena. But his last hour had arrived. Having landed on the territory of Durlen, he was attacked by the Indians inhabiting that district, who were one of the most ferocious hordes throughout America; they took him prisoner, flayed him alive, and roasted and devoured his members. The majority of his unfortunate companions received the same treatment, and some were even burnt alive. A very small number only survived to carry the information of the deplorable end of this celebrated chieftain, whom we might commiserate, if he had not dishonoured his valour by the most odious cruelties.

The Free-booters who remained at *Las Perlas*, for a long time expected the return of their friends, and it may be conceived with what impatience. At length, after waiting six months, they perceived a pirate ship approaching, which did not form part of their flotilla, but which belonged to their tribe. They were taken on board, and in company with their new comrades went in quest of fresh adventures. They all landed at *Gracias-à-Dios*, and ascended the river in their canoes: but the inhabitants had time to reach the interior of the country, whither they carried all their effects and provisions.

In consequence of this step, the Free-booters were involved in the most terrible distress; for some time they wandered along the shores a prey to famine, and reduced to the necessity of devouring the leather of their shoes, and the scabbards of their swords. Of these Pirates a small number only escaped; the remainder were starved to death; or, having dispersed themselves over the shore, were gradually massacred by the inhabitants, who had returned thither.

The following outline comprises in a few words the history of all the other bodies of Free-booters;—boldly to attack large ships with small vessels, sometimes only with canoes, and almost constantly to be the victors in these unequal contests;—to make descents;—triumph over regular forces;—carry forts by assault;—pillage cities, and exercise every kind of cruelty;—to be very rarely defeated completely, in their engagements both at sea and on shore, and scarcely ever to experience a reverse of fortune similar to that in which Olonois fell. The repeated narrative of all these events would only produce disgust, were we minutely to pourtray these various herdes of Pirates. It will be sufficient to present to the reader the most characteristic traits of their robberies, which we cannot venture to term exploits; this we shall attempt in the following chapters, without restricting ourselves to exact chronological order, from which some deviation must at least be made in a narrative of this description.

## CHAP VI.

ONE of the most important enterprizes undertaken by the Free-booters, was that which they achieved in 1683, against the opulent city of Vera Cruz, and in which they displayed equal prudence and boldness. Both from its object, and also from the consequences it produced, this event indeed belongs more particularly to general history.

Van Horn, a wealthy inhabitant of Ostend, having obtained letters of marque from the governor of Tortugas, joined the Free-booters; and connected himself with two of their most able commanders,—*Grammont*, a Frenchman, and *Laurent de Gratt*, who was a native of Holland.—These three extraordinary men, who conceived and executed the design of pillaging Vera Cruz, are worthy of some particular notices, which will also serve to place the astonishing society of Free-booters in a clearer point of view.

*Van Horn* was originally only a common sailor, who was an excellent steersman; and who, faithfully adhering to the manners of his country, had by rigid economy accumulated some hundreds of piasters. With this money he entered France, obtained letters of marque, and fitted out a small ship, whose crew amounted only to twenty-five men; and to which, the better to conceal his intentions, he gave the capacity, form, and internal arrangement of a fishing-boat. As this troop of licenced Pirates had no cannons, they could only attack by boarding.

At that time France was involved in a war with the Dutch. It may be easily conceived that such a

man as Van Horn would not hesitate to employ his destructive talents against his countrymen. In fact, he soon took some prizes, which he sold at Ostend, and with their produce purchased a ship of war. Fortune continued to favour him: in a short time he had a small fleet of Pirates under his command. In consequence of this success, he became so audacious, that, with the exception of French ships, he indiscriminately attacked those of all nations; which he obliged to pay him homage, by bringing him their flag. At length he did not even spare the French: hence complaints were made from every quarter, to the court of France; in answer to these, a man of war was sent in quest of him, which shortly encountered him. Instead of risking the danger of an unequal contest, he determined to assume the security of innocence. He ordered his sails to be furled, and went himself on board the French ship; the commander of which having informed him that he had orders to carry him to France, Van Horn pretended to be surprized at such a proceeding; and protested that his operations were always combined with the interests of France. The commander knew his orders, and wished to tack about his ship. "Take care, what you are going to do", said the Pirate with fury. "Do you think my men will suffer me to be thus carried off before their eyes? they are all chosen soldiers, tried men, who know how to encounter death. My lieutenant is one of the most resolute fellows upon earth. Your victory is not near decided. Prepare therefore for a most desperate engagement."

This determined language staggered the French commander. He was afraid to bring the honour of his flag in competition with desperate Pirates, with whose audacity he was fully acquainted. Van Horn was released: but as such a cautious conduct might excite discontent in the court of France, and as less moderate commanders might succeed in finding him

in the European seas, he thought it most prudent to withdraw thence, and determined to steer towards the coasts of Spanish America.

Van Horn first sailed towards Porto Rico, whence he knew the galleons would in a short time depart for Europe. Spain was at that time involved in war, and was less afraid of the French and Dutch men of war than of the corsairs of those nations. The galleons could not safely undertake their voyage without the protection of a convoy. Under these circumstances, Van Horn (whose name was celebrated among seamen) entered that port, amid the sound of cymbals and trumpets; he announced his recent determination no longer to adhere to France; associated with himself some ships that were on a cruise, and proposed to take the galleons under his protection.

It will perhaps be scarcely credited, that the Spaniards were inconsiderate enough to accept his offers. Such in fact was the case: the fleet put to sea, and Van Horn accompanied it to a certain latitude. As soon as the moment appeared favourable to the execution of his plan (which till then had been carefully disguised), he seized the two of the galleons that were most richly laden: all the rest were so fortunate as to effect their escape.

This sudden stroke put him in possession of immense wealth; and in a short time his liberalities became evident. He conferred the most magnificent rewards on the boldest and bravest of his comrades, as he had with his own hand killed those who, during battle, had betrayed the slightest symptoms of fear. To these dispositions, thus alternately ferocious and generous, was added a most singular vanity. When on shore, he was arrayed in the most costly manner: round his neck he wore a string of the richest oriental pearls, and on his finger a ruby of inestimable value.

Van Horn, however, soon perceived that, notwithstanding his brilliant success, his situation was both



dangerous and difficult. He could no longer expect to be treated with respect by the French, English, Dutch, Spaniards, or, in short, by any of the great powers. With regard to them, he was only a solitary Pirate, and exposed to all their vengeance: he therefore determined to unite with the Free-booters, by whom he was eagerly received; as his opulence, nautical skill, and intrepidity, had acquired him a great name among them.—Such was Van Horn.

Grammont was a French gentleman, and born at Paris. In 1678, he set sail with 700 men for Maracaibo, of which he made himself master, as will be presently stated; he afterwards left his ships, penetrated into the interior of the country, crossed an impetuous torrent, repulsed the Spaniards who opposed his march, and took possession of the city of *Toraha*. Here, however, as well as at Maracaibo, the inhabitants had time to make their escape with all these most valuable effects. Articles of bulk would not suit these Pirates, who hastily withdrew. Grammont therefore returned to Tortugas with a booty of little value; but what was most unfortunate, the greatest part of his crew had been carried off by diseases. He brought back only twenty men.

The following year he undertook another expedition to the coast of Cumana; carried by assault, with only 180 soldiers, the city of Puerto Cavello, and took two forts, the works of which he destroyed, and spiked their cannons. The whole country took up arms in order to expel these Free-booters; and two thousand men were on their march against the city and forts. Grammont, who occupied the city with only forty-seven men, saw himself attacked by three hundred Spaniards. He was obliged to think of retreating; and immediately ordered his men to abandon the forts, and to embark. For two hours he had to maintain an unequal combat, together with his chosen band: though dangerously wounded in the neck, he continued to hold out, and succeeded in protecting the embarca-

tion. Nor was this all: the desperately furious courage, displayed by his companions in arms, so struck the Spaniards, that they suffered him and his troop to go on board, together with one hundred and fifty prisoners, among whom was the governor of the place.

To compensate for the inconsiderable plunder they had taken in this expedition, the Free-booters calculated upon the ransom of their prisoners. In this respect, however, they were cruelly deceived. While Grammont was at anchor in the road of Goava, suffering horribly from his wound, a hurricane dashed his ships upon the coast: one of them (a fifty gun ship) was his chief vessel, and carried in her all he was worth. At length Grammont recovered his health; but, being stripped of every thing, he offered his services in the expedition to Vera Cruz, as a common Free-booter. Van Horn knew him too well not to admit him, under that title, among his companions in arms. Grammont became one of his chief co-operators.

The third principal in the undertaking (*Laurent*) was not inferior to the two others, either in intrepidity or enterprise. He was an excellent engineer, and had long been in the service of Spain. He had even cruised against the Free-booters, some of whom he had often made prisoners, and at length himself fell into their hands. They had tried his courage, and proposed to admit him into their association. Some time after, he participated in the piracies of Van Horn, and shortly became the terror of the Spaniards. One day he was unexpectedly met by two ships of the line, belonging to that nation, each mounting sixty guns, and which had been sent out to pursue him. To oppose them, he had only his own ship, which indeed was well armed. The contest, however, was too unequal: he made every effort to escape, but all retreat was cut off. Nothing remained but to defend himself to the last extremity: he therefore forcibly represented to his soldiers, that they were, on every side, surrounded

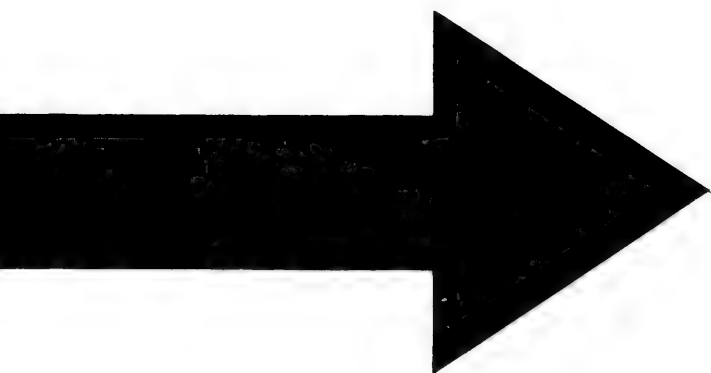
with the most terrible dangers ; and that they had only to choose between an infamous and painful death, or the most obstinate resistance.

The courage of the Pirates was inflamed even to fury. In order to keep up this disposition, Laurent called one of the most resolute fellows among them, whom he ordered to fetch a lighted match, and take his post at the distance of two feet from the gunner's room, to which he was to set fire at the first signal. Then, after distributing a formidable volley of musquetry upon every corner of his ship, he exclaimed : " We must now make way across the Spaniards' ships ! " He was obeyed : and, notwithstanding the Spanish bullets galled him severely, yet the Free-booters followed in such quick succession, and were so well levelled, that the Spaniards (who were crowded upon deck) experienced a very great loss.

Though severely wounded in the thigh by a cannon ball, Laurent still kept the command ; and derived very great assistance in this unequal contest from his skill as an engineer. He himself pointed the cannons at the enemy, and succeeded in beating down the main mast of the admiral's ship. In short, availing himself of the disorder and confusion he had thus caused among the Spaniards, he succeeded in effecting an escape. Never could greater good fortune be united to more boldness and dexterity.

Shortly afterwards, three other ships were fitted out at Carthage against these formidable Pirates ; each of the two largest carried thirty-six guns, and were manned with a crew four hundred strong ; the third had only six cannons and ninety men. In the mean time Laurent had been joined by some vessels manned with Free-booters. On seeing this increase of strength, the Spaniards (who had calculated upon their superior force, and dreamt only of victory) would have retired. Laurent, however, left them no time for escape, but immediately commenced an attack ; and, after fighting eight hours, their three ships were taken.







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So many checks discouraged the Spaniards, and caused them for a long time to abandon the hope of exterminating their dangerous enemies.

Such were the three men who, in 1683, conceived the apparently extravagant plan of attacking, with no assistants but their Free-booters, a city so well defended as Vera Cruz, both by its situation, and also by its fortifications and soldiers.

Some idea may be formed of the temerity of such an enterprize, when it is considered that Vera Cruz was garrisoned by three thousand men, of that very nation which was held in high repute for its military character. Beside these, there were eight hundred men and sixty cannons in a neighbouring fort, called St. Jean-de-Luz, and which was covered on one side by the sea, and on the other by the city; and in twenty-four hours six thousand armed men could be assembled in the environs for the defence of Vera Cruz.

Grammont, who was intimately acquainted with the spot, as well as with the surrounding country (and who also had the direction of the expedition), previously informed his companions in arms, that the Spaniards of this district had been accustomed to stand a first attack very well; but that, as soon as success appeared doubtful, they never failed to carry away or to deposit in the ground their riches, and to save themselves in the woods; and consequently that they must act with prudence, and endeavour at once to astonish the enemy by an irresistible valour.

To the assailants this was a secret highly valuable to be known, and equally important to keep. There was, indeed, no fear that the Free-booters would themselves disclose it; their own interests recommended to them the most rigid discretion on this occasion. They knew from experience, that, wherever they appeared, the Spaniards and their partisans would employ every possible manœuvre against them, and that the plan of their enterprize would be frustrated the moment it should become known.



Notice of the intended attack was then communicated to the assembled troop, though only in a general manner. The two other chieftains perfectly accorded with Grammont, notwithstanding the majority of the Free-booters opposed a plan, the execution of which was apparently beset with insurmountable difficulties. Their commanders, who knew that the certain prospect of a rich booty would triumph over their repugnance, ordered some Spanish prisoners to be brought before the assembly, who informed them, that in a few days two ships richly laden would arrive at Vera Cruz from Goava. This news made them decisive, and it was determined to set sail without delay. The Free-booters who were about to embark in the expedition, were reviewed; their number amounted to twelve hundred. It was agreed that, as soon as they should approach Vera Cruz, all the Free-booters should go on board two ships, with the exception of some seamen, who were to continue at sea, in order to manage and guard the rest of the fleet, and who were not to appear until after the complete success of the enterprize. The design of this manœuvre was to conceal the real strength of the Free-booters, and to induce the enemy to think that the two ships they had seen arrive were those expected from Goava. In fact, on their appearance the Spaniards flocked down to the shore, impatient to receive the cargo with which they supposed these vessels were laden, and of which they were in extreme want.

The sight of the Spanish flag, which the Pirates had hoisted, occasioned universal joy. As however the ships continued at some distance, and seemed rather to stand out than to avail themselves of the wind that favoured them, the Spaniards began to entertain some doubts. These were communicated to the governor, Don Louis de Cordova; who, giving no credit to them, maintained that the two ships in question were really those which had been expected, and that he recognized

them by their signals. He returned a similar answer to the commander of fort St. John, who warned him to be on his guard. The night at length came on, and every one retired quietly to rest, on the assurance of a man who had so much interest in being well informd.

The Free-booters availed themselves fully of these circumstances. The two ships in the rear, which had not been discovered, advanced under the protection of the darkness, and of the security that universally prevailed. The disembarking was effected at midnight, near Old Vera Cruz, which was deserted, and was situated at the distance of two leagues from the new town of that name. The guards, who were stationed on the shore, were surprized and killed: they next met with some slaves, whom they engaged to serve as guides, by promising to give them liberty. Before day they were at the gates of Vera Cruz; and as soon as they were opened, the Free-booters suddenly rushed in, and put to death every one that opposed their passage.

Laurent, accompanied by a select body, marched to the fort, which served on the land side to defend the city, and carried it by assault. He found twelve pieces of cannon, of a large bore, and announced this first success by firing several shot against the place. The soldiers awoke in amazement, and for some time continued motionless: as the very day on which this success was gained was the anniversary of some great festival, they thought so: the principal inhabitants had commenced its solemnities at an earlier hour than usual; they mistook for cries of joy the shouts of the assailants, with which the streets re-echoed; and by a chance, of which perhaps a second instance does not exist in military annals, they were the last to learn that the enemy was master of the place, whose defence had been committed to them. It was not till that moment that they ran to arms, vociferating what every one already knew, that the robbers were in the city.

Hitherto the Free-booters had used their easy victory with some degree of moderation; but they became furious as soon as they experienced any opposition, and cut to pieces every one they met. In a very little time all the soldiers were either killed, wounded, disarmed, or put to flight, and the principal inhabitants were made prisoners, without having had leisure to place themselves and their wealth in safety, as was always their practice on similar occasions. At length the massacres terminated, and the tumult was appeased. All the prisoners, whose number greatly exceeded that of the victors, were shut up in the principal church, at the gates of which were placed heaps of gunpowder, and sentinels were stationed, with matches in their hands, in order to set them on fire, and blow up that building, on the first mutinous cry that should be heard.

Thus, in the compass of a few hours, and with the loss of a very few only of their comrades, the Free-booters were masters of one of the richest and most beautiful cities in America. They spent twenty-four hours in pillaging, and in embarking on board their ships, whatever was valuable or convenient for their use. Their plunder, which consisted of gold and silver in cash, jewels, cochineal, and other costly commodities, amounted in value to six millions of piasters. These treasures, however, were nothing in comparison of what they might have been able to carry away from so wealthy a city, if they had not been pressed for time: for they were apprehensive, lest the very numerous soldiery, who were dispersed among the surrounding districts, should assemble together and march against Vera Cruz. They were therefore obliged to shorten their harvest for the present, with the intention, however, of speedily returning to reap more abundantly,—an expectation this, which could not seem illusory. The Free-booters were accustomed to consider every thing belonging to the Spaniards as their own property; and, when they re-appeared in any places which they had only half

pillaged, they never failed to require ample interest for the capitals which they had, as it were, lent them only for a limited time.

At Vera Cruz they did not neglect the subsidiary and rapid means of increasing their plunder, by exacting a ransom for the confined prisoners. For this purpose they sent into the church a Spanish priest; who, from the pulpit, announced in a few words the imperious will of the conquerors to his affrighted audience, and conjured them instantly to comply, if they wished to purchase their lives and their liberty.

This forcible address produced the desired effect. As most of the prisoners, in their flight from their houses, had carried with them their money and jewels, a collection was immediately made, to the amount of two hundred thousand piasters. This sum the Free-booters thought too moderate; but it was necessary to reconcile their safety with the interests of their cupidity. Already was it rumoured that the Viceroy of New Spain was marching against them with considerable forces; when a fortunate and unexpected circumstance occurred to favour them. The Bishop of Vera Cruz was actually visiting his diocese at the time he heard of the fatal event which had just taken place in his see. Apprehensive that still greater misfortunes would be inflicted on his flock if they did not speedily appease the Free-booters, he exerted all his zeal to collect a million of piasters, which were immediately sent to them. The deliverance of the prisoners however was not effected till some days afterwards, nor were they set at liberty till the moment the Free-booters marched out of the city.

These robbers departed thence in the evening, and carried with them all the slaves of both sexes, as well as all the mulattoes, not excepting those who were free. There were in their hands fifteen hundred hostages, who were to be security for the payment of another million of piasters, which had been promised by the bishop. In fact, that sum had been collected,

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but had arrived too late ; and the Free-booters would have exposed themselves to too many dangers had they waited for its receipt.

The Pirates, indeed, were the more pressed to set sail, as they had to apprehend an encounter with an army by land. The Mexican fleet, consisting of seventeen ships, was ready for sea, and was actually met by them near the coasts ; though, notwithstanding its superiority, it did not venture to attack them. They were themselves but little tempted to engage in battle, as their ships were already laden with a tolerably rich booty, while those of the Spaniards contained only commodities which were of difficult sale. With these dispositions the two fleets passed quietly near each other ; and the Free-booters might again acknowledge the faithfulness of their star. They were, however, shortly involved in a new trouble. As they had scarcely water enough for their own consumption, a violent contest arose among them, in what manner they could supply the fifteen hundred prisoners with it, whom they had brought away on board. In order to appease the dispute, which was about to become bloody, it was agreed to make a fresh division of the slaves on board the whole fleet ; but these unfortunate persons only had to suffer from the scarcity of water, and three-fourths of them died of thirst.

Other accidents, fatal to these hitherto successful robbers, marked their passage. Van Horn and Laurent, two of their chieftains, quarrelled ; their dispute arose to such a height, that they came to a duel : Van Horn received a severe wound, which was neglected, and of which he died in the course of a few days afterwards. His body was for a long time kept on board, and at length buried in the province of Yucatan. His ship became the property of Grammont, who respected the memory of his benefactor. Laurent could not, therefore, but be odious to him ; and this difference between them extended to all who were under their orders. To prevent the occurrence of transactions

becoming such ferocious men, they separated. All the ships in the fleet dispersed. Their fortunate chances were terminated. Two of the vessels disappeared without any account being ever heard of them; another fell into the hands of the Spaniards; and some were driven out to a great distance by contrary winds. Fortune is generally inconstant when unaccompanied by prudence; and the unbounded desire of riches meets with its punishment in its own excess.

Another capital enterprize of the Free-booters was executed, in 1685, against Campechy; for which purpose they assembled together, to the number of twelve hundred, in the island of Avache. They could not but know that an attack upon Campechy would in every respect be as difficult as that upon Vera Cruz, and that its success would not be equally profitable; but they were, so to speak, commanded by imperious necessity. Most of them had rapidly passed from opulence to misery; so that new exploits became requisite, in order that they might acquire new treasures. The expedition, therefore, was determined upon; but the most profound secrecy was promised. Every precaution, was taken to prevent their plan from being penetrated either by the English of Jamaica, or even by their friends of Tortugas. They addressed, however, the French governor of the island, the estimable Cussey, to request a grant of letters of marque, under the pretext of cruising against the Spaniards, but without disclosing to him their real design. How great was their consternation, when Cussey himself replied to their request, and informed them that his government was extremely displeased on account of their insubordination, and that in a few days several frigates would arrive from France for the purpose of forcing them to obedience!

Grammont (the same person of whom we have already spoken) ventured to apologize for his companions in arms. He pretended that the king could know nothing concerning the state of their affairs; and

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that the governor was desirous, solely from motives of humanity, to dissuade them from undertaking new expeditions against the Spaniards. Cussey insisted on the displeasure of his court, and on the speedy arrival of the frigates: he pressed the Free-booters to relinquish their plans; and, knowing the ascendancy which Grammont had over them, he promised him advancement for his past services, and gave him to expect rewards for all his comrades. "*If my brethren in arms,*" replied Grammont, "*will abandon their projects, I consent to it.*" But they all unanimously exclaimed that things were too far advanced, and that they could not recede; that, if the governor would not grant them new letters of marque, they would make use of those which authorized them to hunt and fish; and that, after all, their real intention was *to go in pursuit of men*, who opposed resistance, in the same manner as they hunted beasts. Cussey, not being able to obtain any concessions from them, left them, threatening them very highly for their obstinacy.

Their preparations were speedily completed: they set sail with a favourable wind, and landed July 5th 1685, at Champeton, which is fourteen leagues distant from Campechy. Nine hundred of them left their ships, entered twenty-two canoes decorated with flags, and rowed silently all day. In the evening, they were within cannon-shot of the city, and passed the night on board their canoes; fully determined not to retire until they had completed their enterprize. On the present occasion, they were more instigated by want of necessaries than from the desire of plunder.

On the following morning the disembarkation took place at some distance from the city. The Spaniards could not conceive that they would dare to assault in open day, with canoes alone, so well fortified a place. They knew not what to think of these soldiers, who landed peaceably; and who availed themselves of the astonishment of the motionless spectators, to form themselves, and commence their march.

One obstacle, however, occasioned them some difficulty. They observed a Spanish frigate moored under the cannon of the place; but from this impediment they were delivered, by one of those fortunate accidents which often came to their assistance. After firing a few shots, the powder magazine took fire, and the frigate, together with all her crew, was blown up into the air. During these occurrences, the Free-booters were suddenly attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were placed in ambush a little before the city. Decisive as such an advantage usually is, it had scarcely any effect on these men, equally fortunate and intrepid. Two of them only were killed, and six wounded. The others speedily recovered from their surprize: in their turn, they furiously attacked and put to flight the Spaniards, and entered the place along with the fugitives. Here they found the inhabitants intrinched in the streets; whence they overwhelmed them with the artillery that had been brought thither from all parts. But this formidable defence was shortly silenced by Grammont, who ordered all his best marksmen to mount upon the roofs and terraces of the neighbouring houses. All the cannoneers fell beneath their shots, which were pointed with extreme skill. In a few moments these batteries were abandoned; and the Free-booters found themselves in possession of forty pieces of cannon, which they turned against the inhabitants. The latter did not make a long resistance; and in three hours, those robbers, who had been so wretchedly armed, took possession of a city fortified with all the rules of art.

There still remained a fort to be taken, which was defended by four hundred men and twenty-four pieces of cannon, and which required an attack in form. Grammont did not immediately press it, but allowed his men three days to rest themselves, and to satisfy their craving appetites. In the mean time he directed the powder and shot, that were on board the ships, to be landed; and as there was no deficiency of cannon,

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they speedily erected a battery. From thence a furious fire was continued for nine hours, till a breach was made in the fort; while six hundred Free-booters, who were stationed on an eminence, kept up an incessant discharge of musquetry against the ramparts, and carried off every Spaniard that appeared there. They had not, however, succeeded in opening the breach, but had deferred their intended assault till the following morning; when, on the same evening, they were informed that the Spaniards had abandoned the fort. At first, such an instance of weakness appeared incredible to the Free-booters: they doubted it all night; nor was it till the ensuing day that they were convinced of the fact. Two men only were found in the fort; an Englishman, who had served the Spaniards as an engineer, and a young officer, who from a principle of honour, preferred to expose himself to every danger, rather than disgracefully to abandon his post. Grammont, who knew how to be generous when his passions did not command him to be atrocious, received him with distinction, ordered his property to be respected, set him at liberty, and even made him some presents.

The first step that occupied the Free-booters' attention, was to secure themselves from any attack. They found in the houses belonging to the city only a trifling booty; and, to them, the immense supplies of Campechy wood, which constitutes the chief wealth of the country, were of no use whatever. The plunderers, who were daily sent out in large detachments to some distance from the place, were not more successful, they met only with a few savages; and one day a party of thirty fell into an ambuscade, where the governor of Merida, in person, was posted with nine hundred Spaniards. The contest was too unequal. The Free-booters, who were mounted on horses and mules, were unaccustomed to fight in that position; they determined therefore to retire towards the city, defending themselves in the best manner they could. Twenty of them lay dead on the spot; and,

what was still more painful to them, two of their company were taken prisoners.

In order to recover his companions in arms, Grammont made an attempt of a novel kind. He demanded their deliverance of the governor of Merida, to whom he promised the restitution of all the Spanish prisoners, as an equivalent, not excepting even the governor of Campechy: but, if that proposal, *so advantageous, so magnanimous*, was refused, he threatened to massacre all the prisoners, and set the place on fire. The governor haughtily replied, that the Free-booters were perfect masters of burning and killing, according to their fancies; that *he* had money to rebuild and repeople the city, and soldiers also to fight Grammont and his brigands, and thus to accomplish the object of his expedition.

This bravado irritated Grammont to excess; and in a very short time he threw off the mask of moderation he had worn. He took the governor's messenger with him, and in his presence ordered the city to be set on fire, and five Spanish prisoners to be beheaded. "Go," said he to the man, "*and tell your master, that I have executed his orders.*" He at the same time intimated that a similar fate awaited the rest of the prisoners.

Struck with horror, yet not intimidated, the governor sent back an answer equally haughty as the first, but Grammont was not quite so atrocious as to accomplish his menaces: he contented himself with reducing the fort to ashes. He afterwards celebrated the festival of St. Louis, by discharges of artillery and musquetry; and by a kind of *feu de joye*, hitherto unparralleled, in honour of the king of France, he ordered Campechy wood to be burnt, to the value of 200,000 piasters. Immediately afterwards he prepared for his departure, and set his prisoners at liberty: and, after residing seven weeks at Campechy, he set sail for St. Domingo, on the 29th of August 1685.

This enterprize of Grammont's was undertaken, as

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already intimated, in direct opposition to the intention of the governor of the island, and to the orders of the king of France. The Free-booters might therefore have conceived some apprehensions lest, in the interim, Spain should have committed hostilities against France, in defiance of the peace that had been concluded between those two powers. In fact, the Spaniards had landed on the French side of St. Domingo, and had taken away ships from the very ports of that colony. In consequence of these proceedings, France found herself dispensed with taking any measures on their account. Cussey, who esteemed the courage, talents, and even the character of Grammont, had represented this last expedition of the Free-booters in a favourable point of view, and had proposed their chieftain to be the king's lieutenant in the southern part of St. Domingo. To this proposal the government acceded, and Grammont accepted it with pleasure. He only requested that, previously to the arrival of his commission, he might crown his exploits as a Free-booter, by making one more cruise. He therefore hastily embarked with one hundred and eighty men. The object of his expedition was not known. Grammont, his ship, and all his crew disappeared; and no person whatever was heard to say any thing farther concerning them.

## CHAP. VII.

**A**NOTHER chieftain of the Free-booters, of equal celebrity with those whose exploits we have already narrated, was Morgan, the son of an opulent Welch farmer; who, by the ferocity of his character, the strength of his mind, the extent and duration of his achievements, as well as by his success, has perhaps surpassed all the other Free-boojers.

He at first embarked as a common sailor ; in which capacity he went to Jamaica, and in a short time became connected with the West Indian corsairs. By one of their commanders, an old Free-booter, named Mansfield (who was likewise an Englishman), he was patronized ; and in a little time so distinguished himself by his brilliant actions, that Mansfield appointed him his vice-admiral, and died soon after, in 1688. This was the æra of Morgan's first enterprizes. None of his comrades disputed the command with him ; and he shortly became possessed of the means of rendering himself, in consequence of his singular genius and intrepidity, one of the most famous chieftains the Free-booters had ever had.

After he had made some successful cruises, he persuaded his men not to squander their money foolishly, but to reserve it for great enterprizes. To this suggestion many of them acceded ; and, in a few months, he had a fleet of twelve sail, of various sizes, and seven hundred men ; with whom he visited the southern parts of the island of Cuba, and determined to attack *Puerto del Principe*, which was situated in the interior of that island, at some distance from the southern coast.

It may not be irrelevant here to state a few brief notices concerning the island in question. Cuba, the largest of the Antilles, is two hundred French leagues in length, by fifty in its greatest breadth. It contains several mountains, in which are abundant mines of copper, silver, and gold. The city, which Morgan purposed to attack, was opulent, populous, and at a distance from the shore ; and, till the present period, had been preserved from being plundered by the Pirates.

There was on board their fleet a Spaniard, who was an expert swimmer, and who effected his escape by plunging into the sea. By this man the governor was informed of their plan. He therefore hastily took defensive measures, alarmed all the inhabitants, and

marched with eight hundred men to meet the Freebooters. He merited a better fate. After four hours desperate fighting, his forces were completely defeated, and himself lay dead on the field of battle. The city continued to defend itself for some time; the inhabitants barricaded their houses, and fired from their windows. Their efforts were in vain. The Freebooters threatened to set their city on fire, and massacre their women and children. They were constrained to surrender.

Morgan was extremely vexed to find, that, during the battle, they had carried off their most valuable effects. The tortures inflicted upon them, could not compel them to disclose where they had concealed them. The little that remained in the town was regularly plundered. All the Spaniards of both sexes, including even children at the breast, and also the slaves, were shut up in the church, where most of them perished with hunger. The Pirates required a double ransom of them; one for their persons, if they did not wish to be transported to Jamaica; and the other for their city, if they wished to save it from total destruction. Four prisoners were sent into the woods, there to collect the sums exacted, either from the inhabitants or by other means. They returned soon after, with assurances that the whole should be paid; they only requested a respite of fifteen days, which Morgan granted. But on the following morning a Negro was brought to him, who was the bearer of a letter, written by the governor of Santo Yago, to some prisoners; in which he recommended them not to hurry themselves in paying the ransom, but to amuse the Pirates under different pretences; and promised that he would himself shortly come in person to their assistance.

Morgan carefully concealed the contents of this letter, but announced to the prisoners that he would not wait longer than the following morning. In consequence of their representations, and under the apprehension of being continually attacked by large

bodies of troops, he was content for the moment, with five hundred cattle. He took, however, six of the principal inhabitants as hostages ; and the Free-booters set sail.

They were extremely displeased with the inconsiderable amount of their booty, which, exclusive of some commodities, did not exceed 50,000 piasters. Disputes arose, in consequence of which a Frenchman was killed by an Englishman. The national animosities were re-excited (for the body of Free-booters consisted entirely of English and French), the two parties proceeded even to blows. In order to appease this tumult, Morgan ordered the murderer to be put in irons, and solemnly promised to give him up to a court of justice at Jamaica. With this act of impartial justice the French were but imperfectly satisfied. They were inconsolable for the little profit which their last expedition had produced ; and they disapproved of that to which it was proposed to conduct them. Some of them wished to act for themselves : they took, therefore, one of the ships on their own account, and separated with testimonies of friendship. On their departure, Morgan offered prayers for their success, and repeated his promise, that the assassin should be legally punished. He kept his word ; and on his arrival at Jamaica, the Englishman was tried, convicted, and executed.

The division between the two nations continued, nevertheless, to prevail. It was difficult for men, whose language, sentiments, religion, and manners, were so widely different, long to agree : but as the English and French were not on board the same ships, a separation became more easy. It was amicably effected. Most of the French left Morgan, chose one of their countrymen for their commander, and withdrew.

The confidence of the Pirates in their chieftain was boundless : among them, the separation of the French produced but little sensation. Less mixed, they be-

more intimately united, and promised Morgan that they would follow him every-where. They sedulously applied themselves to the procuring of new recruits at Jamaica; so that, in the course of a few weeks, they had collected nine ships of various sizes, and four hundred and sixty men, all devoted to their brave commander.

Till then, the Free-booters had only landed in the islands. Morgan conceived more extensive plans: he turned his views to the continent of America; and the great, the opulent city of *Porto Bello* was the place he intended to plunder.

*Porto Bello*, which was defended by three forts, is situated on the shore of a gulph, on the southern side of the isthmus of Panama. For the last two centuries to the present time, it has been known as the greatest mart in the world for the valuable metals. At the period now referred to, it was a city of the greatest importance, and, next to the Havanna, the strongest place of all the Spanish possessions in America. The entrance of its port was defended by two castles, St. James and St. Philip, which were reputed to be impregnable, and were garrisoned by three hundred soldiers. Notwithstanding its vast circumference, the city was inhabited only by four hundred families, on account of the unwholesomeness of the climate. It contained scarcely any thing else but warehouses for articles, the proprietors of which constantly resided at Panama, which is situated at a small distance. Thence were sent to *Porto Bello* on mules, at certain periods of the year, the gold and silver that arrived from Peru and Mexico. The inhabitants of the first named place, though few in number, had the character of being excellent soldiers; and they deserved their reputation, from the valour with which they had on various occasions defended themselves.

Morgan had not communicated to any individual his design on *Porto Bello*, to prevent the Spaniards from obtaining any information concerning it. The

Pirates themselves were very far from suspecting it; and, when it was announced to them, were intimidated. The most intrepid among them shook their heads, and exclaimed against the smallness of their number, with which it was impossible to take so strong and so extensive a city.

"What signifies it," replied Morgan, "how *small* our number is, if our hearts are *great*! The fewer we are, the more intimate will be our union, and the more considerable our shares of plunder."—This short address at once aroused their cupidity and their courage. The expedition was unanimously determined to be carried into execution.

It was accordingly executed in 1688, when the Spaniards had just concluded their treaty of peace with France, at Aix-la-Chapel. Reconciled to all the European powers, they were at length enabled to breathe, and in fact had no other enemies but the free-booters; who, however, were to them perhaps more dangerous than all their other foes, because they attacked the strength of the state at its very source. In vain, when discussing the treaty of peace, did they wish them to suspend, for some time at least, their formidable enterprizes. "This treaty," it was replied, "does not concern us; we have not been called to conferences; we have had no representatives at congress." They persisted therefore in their design on Porto Bello.

Morgan moored his ships, during the dark, at some distance from the city; a very few soldiers only being left on board; the remainder went into boats and canoes, in order that they might land in silence near the port. The descent being effected, Morgan detached four men, under the conduct of an Englishman, who was well acquainted with the local situation, with orders to kill or bring away, without noise, the sentinel of the advanced post. Circumstances favoured the taking him prisoner. The soldier was surprized, stripped of his arms, and with his hands

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bound, was conducted to the commander of the Pirates; who, by means of threats, extorted from him all the information he wanted. The first of the two forts was next approached; and they reached without detection the very foot of the wall. From thence the captive soldier was compelled, with a loud voice, to announce to his countrymen, in the name of Morgan, that if they did not instantly surrender, they should be cut to pieces. This menace produced no effect: the garrison began to fire upon them, and made a courageous resistance. The first was, notwithstanding, carried in a short time; when the Free-booters, with a view to intimidate the inhabitants, thought it necessary to accomplish their threat. They therefore collected all the captive soldiers together, set fire to the powder magazine, and blew up both the fort and garrison into the air. Without losing a moment, they marched towards the city.

Trembling with terror, the inhabitants were busily engaged in concealing a part at least of their riches, either by throwing them into the wells, or burying them in the earth. The governor, not being able to prevail upon them to defend themselves, shut himself up in the second fort, from which he commenced a terrible fire upon the Pirates. These however attempted an assault: it lasted from day break till noon, and was frustrated.

The Free-booters then tried the firing of red hot balls against the gates of the fort. They were not more successful. These gates were almost wholly composed of iron; and, in addition to this impediment, the garrison threw down from the top of the walls so many stones, so many pots filled with powder, that the intrepid assailants could not approach without meeting with certain death. Even the headstrong Morgan himself began to be doubtful of victory; when he beheld the English flag flying at a small distance from the fort just taken. This sight re-animated his courage, as well as that of his men. He

made all the religious, of both sexes, quit their convents; and caused twelve ladders to be hastily made, and of sufficient width to admit twelve men abreast to mount them. The wretched religious were obliged to plant them against the walls, and served as a bulwark to the Free booters, who were marching behind them. Morgan had taken for granted that the governor would not venture to fire on his countrymen, especially on persons whom superstition must render sacred to him. These monastics also, impatient of their horrible situation, amid the pangs of death, with which they were threatened, cried with all their might, and conjured the governor, in the name of all the saints, to surrender the fort, and save their lives. The Pirates added yet more to the horror of this scene, by a menace, which in their lips was never in vain, that a general massacre should take place in case of longer resistance. The wall, at the foot of which the assailants presented themselves, was not lofty: the batteries of the fort were so exposed, and the Free-booters were such able marksmen, that every cannon-shot was followed by the death of some of the Spanish artillery men. They persisted notwithstanding in their determination of holding out against the Pirates.

The governor, in particular, was alike deaf to every menace, and to the lamentations of the wretched recluses, near whom were the ladies of the city, the wives of the lower classes of people, and their children. Regardless of so many innocent victims, he ordered his artillery to fire upon this living rampart; behind which the Free-booters were sheltered. To these terrible assailants his fire did but little damage; but it overthrew a vast number of monks, of female religious, and of women in general, before these hapless persons succeeded in applying the ladders to the walls.

The assault then became more easy to the Free-booters, although they had no other arms than their pistols and sabres. In a short time they reached the

summit of the wall, whence they discharged a kind of earthen shot, filled with powder, upon the Spaniards, who were giving way a little, defending themselves at the same time with their pikes; but who, still persisting in their refusal to surrender, were all cut to pieces.

The Pirates had still to carry the other fort, into which part of the garrison belonging to the first fort had retired, together with the governor. The first was of less importance than that which they had just taken, and served to defend the entrance of the harbour; but the Free-booters were under the necessity of occupying it, in order that they might secure themselves free access to their ships. There was, in fact, no impediment whatever, to prevent them from plundering the city at their ease; but, in order to carry off their booty, and especially to take away with safety their numerous wounded comrades, their ships were indispensably necessary.

That no time might be lost, they summoned the governor to surrender, promising him to spare all his soldiers. Cannon-shot were the answer. They had no time for consideration. This fort, like the former, was attacked, sabre in hand; and its surrender was accelerated by the vanquished being compelled to direct their own cannons against its walls. The officers quitted their arms only with life. The soldiers, on the contrary, laid down theirs, and demanded quarter. The governor, who was a Castilian, and whose name deserved to have been transmitted to posterity, continued furiously to defend himself; and, with his own hand, killed several of these robbers. His valour forced their admiration: he haughtily rejected the pardon they offered to him. In vain did his wife and daughter with tears conjure him to save his life.—“*I had rather,*” he replied, “*die on the field of honour, than on a scaffold!*” In fact, a glorious death only could terminate his valiant career.

Thus Morgan found himself master of two strong castles; and this success had been obtained, without cannons, solely by four hundred men. The men and women, as well as the wounded, were all shut up in separate enclosures. Here the conqueror, whom it has hitherto been impossible not to admire, disappears, to give place to the ferocious man, whom we detest. Instead of causing the wounded to be dressed, he said to them with the most cruel irony,—“*Your groans shall supply the place of clothing for your wounds.*” His companions in arms shewed themselves worthy of him. During the following night, they amused themselves with intoxication, music, and the commission of the most horrible excesses. Those women, who opposed their brutality by the resistance of modesty, were threatened with instant death; and such as persisted fell beneath their blows, without being able to obtain the last consolations of religion, which they implored. The ensuing day was employed by the ferocious conquerors in searching after concealed treasures: great numbers of the unfortunate captives were put to the most cruel tortures, beneath which many of them expired.

While these transactions were taking place, Morgan was informed that the president of Panama, Don Juan Perez de Gusman, was collecting forces against him from every quarter. He nevertheless continued his operations with perfect security; in case of immediate danger, his retreat was rendered certain by his ships being in the vicinity. Lest, however, he should be surprized, he ordered the ruins of the two forts to be thrown up again; and there placed his cannons to defend himself, in case he should be attacked: but the Spaniards left him a respite, of which he made ample use.

Thus the Free-booters continued at Porto Bello without any apprehensions, for fifteen days; during which period they were actively occupied in supplying themselves with provisions, and in embarking all their booty. They might have prolonged their

residence; but their insatiable gluttony had devoured so great a quantity of the necessaries of life, that they were at length compelled to support themselves almost wholly on horses' and asses' flesh. This scarcity was peculiarly fatal to the prisoners, who had no other sustenance but very small portions of that food, no bread, and some cistern water. This unwholesome and muddy fluid was, indeed, the ordinary drink of the inhabitants; but they had recourse to filtration; an expedient which was prohibited to these unfortunate persons. The robbers themselves had no other water; and this circumstance not a little contributed to hasten their departure.

But, before they quitted the place, Morgan had the audacity to send to the president of Panama two prisoners, who were ordered to demand 100,000 piastres for the ransom of Porto Bello, if he did not wish to see it reduced to ashes. The president had been able to muster only 1500 men; which number, however, he thought sufficient to carry without delay his answer.

But these forces, though so greatly superior to those of the Pirates, did not impose upon them. They marched to meet the Spaniards, occupied a defile, where they attacked them, and occasioned considerable loss among them. Gusman, who did not doubt but that the reinforcements he expected would ultimately secure him the victory, was by no means discouraged at this first check; and sent to inform Morgan that nothing could save him, unless he instantly quitted Porto Bello. Morgan replied, that above all things he wished to have the ransom demanded; and that, if he did not obtain it, he certainly would embark; but that it should not be till he had burnt the city, demolished the forts, and had put every prisoner to death. This terrifying answer damped the president's courage. The moment he had heard of the capture of Porto Bello, he had dispatched an express to Carthagena, to press the sending of a small fleet, which was to cut off the Free-booters by sea, while

he attacked them by land. But these measures, though so exceedingly urgent, were slowly carried into execution; and when the Pirates were ready to set sail, no hope remained that the flotilla would arrive in time. In this situation the president left the inhabitants to save themselves, how they could. The hundred thousand piastres were speedily collected and paid.

Gusman, who had served in Flanders in the rank of general, could not but admire those Free-booters, who had performed such vast exploits with so few men; and who, without undertaking a formal siege, had succeeded in taking a city defended by a wall, ramparts, and cannons. He could not conceive what arms they had made use of, in order to obtain such signal success: he therefore sent a messenger to Morgan, to carry him some refreshments; and requested him to return him a specimen of his arms, as a mark of his remembrance. Morgan gave the messenger a hearty reception, and by him transmitted a pistol, together with some little balls, and thus addressed him:—"Tell the president, if he pleases, to accept this small specimen of the arms with which I have conquered Porto Bello, and to keep it one year. At the expiration of that term, I promise to come myself to Panama, and shew him how to use it." To his thanks, for such a promise, the president added a fine emerald set in a gold ring; but he returned his pistol and balls, with directions to inform Morgan that he did not want for arms of that sort; and advised him to spare himself the trouble of coming to Panama, as he should not there succeed so well as at Porto Bello. At the same time he could not, however, but express his regret, that such brave fellows were not in the service of some great prince, and that they could not display their singular valour in a lawful war. It may be easily conceived in what manner this frank and ingenious compliment was received by the Free-booters.

At length they departed without any obstacle occurring, after they had taken away the best cannon from the forts, and had spiked the rest. They sailed first towards the isle of Cuba: there they examined their plunder; which, exclusive of a great quantity of jewels and valuable articles, consisted of gold and silver, both coined and in plate, to the value of 250,000 piasters. They afterwards transported themselves, together with their treasures, to Jamaica.

These robbers were not formed for repose. In a short time they began to make preparations for a new expedition. To the veterans, who were to be engaged in it, were added a crowd of novices, more eager to participate in Morgan's plunder, than in his glory. Through the protection of the governor of Jamaica, he obtained a six-and-thirty gun ship. With this reinforcement, which equally added to his military strength and to his importance, he departed for Hispaniola in January 1669; as a cruise along the coasts of that island might offer some captures, while he waited until the grand expedition was ready. In one of its ports he met with a ship, carrying, like his own, six-and-thirty guns, and which belonged to some French Pirates. She had sailed from St. Maloes for the purpose of trading with the Spaniards in America; but her crew had changed their destination on her arrival in the West Indian seas. Cruising appeared to them more attractive than a legitimate commerce: they had procured letters of marque; and, supported by several French Free-booters who were at Tortugas, they proposed to make use of them against the Spaniards. Morgan was extremely desirous of adding this ship to his fleet, but the French refused to associate with him. They were not without uneasiness, as to the consequences of a forcible measure, which the famine they were threatened with had compelled them to commit in one of their cruises against an English ship. They had by force taken provisions from her, and by way of payment, had given rescriptions (i. e. orders

for money), that were probably very equivocal. At first Morgan endeavoured to sooth their fears; but not being able to gain over the French seamen, and the captain demanding of him conditions which were incompatible with the Free-booter's regulations, the ferocious Morgan promised himself ample revenge upon the master of the crew and his confidants. To this he was also further excited by the other French Free-booters who, attracted by the hope of plunder, sided with the English, and informed them that the captain, having moored at Baracoa, in the isle of Cuba, had taken from the Spaniards letters of marque, for the purpose of cruising against the English. Strengthened by this discovery, Morgan (in whose breast the spirit of plunder had not extinguished every sentiment of patriotism) concealed his resentment beneath the appearance of goodwill: he invited the captain and principal men employed in the ship to dinner on board his own vessel; when suddenly throwing off the mask, he reproached them with their theft, and caused them to be arrested.

This day of vengeance was celebrated by a council of war; at which Morgan, in the presence of all the Free-booters, whose number was complete by the arrival of his other ships, disclosed his plan of sailing towards Savanna, and there to take the rich fleet which would arrive from Spain. The proposal was received with enthusiasm; cries of joy were mingled with discharges of artillery. The excesses of intoxication which crowned this tumult, deprived these marauders of their reason, and lulled their vigilance to sleep.

In the midst of their drunken revels, the ship blew up into the air, and three hundred and fifty Englishmen, together with all the French prisoners, were buried in the sea. Thirty only, including Morgan, were spared, who were in a large hut, and consequently at a distance from the centre of explosion. A few others might have saved themselves, but they



were so intoxicated as to be unable to make any efforts for that purpose. By this accident three hundred and twenty Pirates were lost. The survivors exerted themselves very actively in fishing them up again,—not indeed from any pious regard for the mortal remains of their comrades,—but to strip them of the gold rings, which these corsairs commonly wore on their fingers.

The English asserted that it was their prisoners who, instigated by rage, had caused the ship, which contained a great number of them to blow up, though they sacrificed their own lives. Strange as this suspicion might appear, it was confirmed by certain papers that were found on them, and in which the English nation were delineated as their enemies, and therefore ought not to be spared. These discoveries, added to the remembrance of former plots, appeared sufficient to Morgan to justify in taking a decisive part. With the feeble survivors of his companions in arms, he made himself master of the French ship, and conducted all the Frenchmen on board her to Jamaica, as prisoners.

The destruction of his principal ship was to him a very sensible loss; he had now only fifteen remaining, the largest of which carried only fourteen small cannons. He could still reckon, indeed, on board his fleet nine hundred Free-booters; but he had not yet arrived at the height of his misfortunes. In one night, after various adventures, his fleet was so ill-treated by a tempest, that on the following day it was reduced to eight ships, and his little army to five hundred men. In case of a separation, it had been previously determined that they should resort to the bay of Ocoa, as the point of re-union; and thither the commander in chief hastened, but *not one* of his ships appeared there.

From that time he changed his plans of operation; and by the advice of the celebrated Peter the Picard, who had been with Olonois in the expedition to

Maracáibo, he determined to pay a new visit to that Spanish possession. He fortunately arrived with his men on the borders of the lake of that name, where he found that the Spaniards had recently built a fort, the artillery of which commenced and kept up a most terrible fire upon his ships. With this unexpected reception the Pirates were by no means daunted; they ventured to land. Intimidated by such audacity, which recalled to mind the first attack of the Freebooters, the Spaniards rapidly evacuated the fort, after having placed a lighted match near the powder magazine, in order to blow up both the fort and the Pirates themselves. The plot, however, was detected by Morgan at the very moment when the explosion was about to take place. He found in the fort thirty quintals of gun-powder, several fuses and pikes, an extensive military baggage, and seventeen large cannons. A few pieces only were spiked, the remainder being carried on board the ships. The fort was demolished as far as precipitation would allow them; for it was constructed in a peculiar manner, so that it could only be ascended by an iron ladder, which was drawn up as soon as the person ascending attained the top of the wall.

But this conquest was not attended with any great utility to the Freebooters. They were obliged to advance further, and they had many obstacles to surmount. The shallowness of the water compelled them to abandon their ships, and continue their navigation in canoes. But the terror with which the Spaniards were struck removed all difficulties. Their inconsiderable strength might have encouraged their enemies to make some resistance; this however was not the case. Though so valiant under other circumstances, they durst not contend with these ferocious Freebooters; they abandoned not only the city of Maracáibo, but also the fort of La Barra, and betook themselves to flight. The Pirates found only a few aged slaves who could not walk, and some invalids in the

hospital, a very small quantity of provisions, and the houses stripped and deserted. The Spaniards had had time to secure their merchandize and moveables; they had even sent their small craft out of the port, and had conducted them further into the interior of the lake.

Morgan ordered the woods to be searched: in a short time there were brought in fifty mules richly laden, and thirty fugitives, men women, and children. Conformably to the horrible custom of these robbers, they put the hapless captives to the torture, in order to extort their confessions. Their limbs were fastened to ropes, which were violently drawn in contrary directions; to their fingers were applied pieces of burning wood; their heads were tightly bound with cords, till the eyes were ready to start from their sockets. Some slaves who would not betray the place of their masters' retreat, were cut to pieces while alive. Every day were detachments sent in the woods to hunt the fugitives; and the hunters never returned without bringing in some human prey.

Morgan continued at Maracáibo three weeks, and then advanced towards Gibraltar, whither he was persuaded all the opulent fugitives had fled. It was now three years since Olonois with his Free-booters had appeared there. Peter the Picard, who accompanied him then, and who served as a guide to the present expedition, recollecting the bloody obstacles he had to surmount\*, prepared his comrades not to expect an easy victory. They were agreeably deceived. Some resistance, indeed, was at first made; but the inhabitants shortly saved themselves by flight into the woods, where they intrenched themselves behind the felled trees.

Thus was Gibraltar a second time taken. That city, which had been reduced to ashes by the Free-booters, had been rebuilt since their departure, and

\* See Chap. V. p. 57.

again became the theatre of new horrors. The scenes, so familiar to these covetous brigands, were repeated: they hunted the fugitives, pillaged to a great distance, exercised tortures, and put in practice every horror that can dishonour victory. The Pirates seemed now even to improve upon their accustomed ferocity. Two hundred and fifty inhabitants were brought to them, chained and trembling. Never was their cruelty more terribly ingenious than in the inventions to which they resorted. Some of these wretched victims were fastened naked to crosses, and tortured with burning fire-brands; many others were hung up by their arms, while stones of a prodigious weight were attached to them, and consequently by this horrible extension the muscles were torn out from their sockets or fastenings, and the bones from their joints. There were some—(shame and humanity make one tremble with horror)—who were suspended in a posture the most disgusting, till their horribly mutilated bodies fell down from their own weight. In this manner the unfortunate wretches languished four or five days under the most dreadful sufferings, unless some robber, from an impulse of compassion, terminated their woes by putting them to death.

The ever execrable authors of these atrocities exercised them indiscriminately on all their victims, whatever their age, condition, or colour might be. Women, decorated with all the graces of their sex,—children, who were protected by their innocence,—aged persons, whose weakness was their protection,—whites, mulattos, negroes,—all were involved in the same fate.

Those slaves who betrayed their masters, were for the most part rewarded with their liberty; though there were but few that were willing to purchase it at that price. Some there were who, through revenge, wickedness, or inveterate hatred, denounced their masters, notwithstanding they had nothing to disclose. One of these false informations furnished the ferocious Morgan with an opportunity to disguise his cruelty

beneath the mask of justice. A slave, who having denounced his master as being opulent, and who had thereby drawn upon him the most cruel tortures, was contradicted by the fact. For this atrocious falsehood the Spanish prisoners in a body demanded revenge: he was immediately abandoned by Morgan to the discretion of his master; who having refused that offer, and referred to that chieftain the care of pronouncing the wretch's fate, Morgan caused him to be instantly cut to pieces.

After six weeks residence at Gibraltar, he demanded a ransom for the city, which he threatened to commit to the flames, and carried away several prisoners with him as hostages. Some of them who could not endure the idea of seeing their city, which had been so recently re-built, again become a heap of ashes, conjured him to allow them to go through the woods, that they might make an effort to collect the sums required. Morgan granted them a delay of eight days, commanding them to bring him the result of their inquiries at Maracáibo, whither he reconducted his companions.

On his arrival at that city, he for the first time, perhaps, experienced a sensation of terror; nor could all the Free-booters, who were in other respects so intrepid, dissemble their consternation. The first news they received were, that three Spanish ships of war had been dispatched in pursuit of them, and were already moored at the entrance of the Lake. The fort of La Barra, which the Pirates had found deserted, had again been put into a state of defence. The largest vessel they had, carried only fourteen small cannons; while one of the three Spanish men of war carried forty, another thirty-eight, and the third four-and-twenty pieces of cannon. To escape such superior forces was utterly impossible: for the Spaniards had so disposed themselves, as to leave only a narrow and very dangerous passage between the ships of war on one side, and the fort on the other, by which the Free-

booters could not go out. These robbers therefore considered themselves as lost without resource : Morgan, alone, who soon recovered himself from his first terror, still retained any hope, and displayed his usual courage.

His first operation was to send one of his ships to the mouth of the river, to acquire exact information on the position of the Spaniards, as well as concerning the number and strength of their ships. The reports, which were in consequence made to him, were not the most consolatory. They confirmed the first news, with this addition,—that the Spanish crews were very considerable, and were labouring with great activity to repair the fort, on which their flag was hoisted. However embarrassing this situation was, Morgan thought that, in order to maintain the character of the Free-booters, he ought to oppose a bravado to such eminent danger. He therefore sent one of his prisoners to the Spanish admiral, to demand twenty thousand piasters for the ransom of Maracáibo, which was in his possession. In case of a refusal, he should proceed to burn that city and cut all his prisoners to pieces.

Such unexpected insolence disconcerted the Spaniards ; whose commander, Don Alphonso del Campo y Espinola, sent him a formal answer, in which he frankly told Morgan, that he had been sent to chastise the Free-booters ;—that the moment was now arrived when he (Morgan) saw it was impossible for him to escape with his fleet ;—that nevertheless, if he would restore all the plunder he had taken, both in gold, silver, jewels, and merchandizes, and would surrender up all his prisoners, including the slaves, he would allow him to retire peaceably ; but that, in case of a refusal, all the Free-booters should be exterminated ;—and that his fate was so much the more inevitable, as his brave soldiers were desirous of nothing more than to avenge the cruelties which the corsairs had inflicted on their countrymen. With

regard to the article of ransom, Don Alphonso verbally replied as follows, by means of the messenger :—“ Tell Morgan, that I will pay him the ransom he demands only with shot ; and that I charge myself with the bringing of that kind of currency.”

Such an answer as this had been expected by Morgan, who had already formed his determination in consequence. As soon as the messenger returned, he convened his comrades in the square of Maracäibo, to whom he communicated the commander's letter and verbal reply, and then asked them,—“ *Will you purchase your liberty by the sacrifice of all your plunder ? Or, would you rather fight in defence of it ?*” They all unanimously declared that they would fight to the very last drop of their blood, rather than give up, in such a cowardly manner, what had cost them so many dangers. But when they had reflected fasting upon their situation, and had coolly compared their strength with the forces of their adversaries, this effusion of enthusiasm subsided a little. Never before had any company or body of Free-booters been placed in such critical circumstances, in which their courage was paralysed, and in which they could neither foresee nor expect a favourable catastrophe. On the following day, therefore, they authorized their captain to submit these proposals to the Spanish Admiral :—“ The Free-booters offer to evacuate Maracäibo, without committing any damage to the city, and without insisting further on a ransom ; and at the same time to set at liberty all the prisoners, half the slaves, and the hostages they have brought from Gibraltar as securities for the contributions promised.”

These proposals were contemptuously rejected by Don Alphonso, who left the Pirates only two days to accept his first capitulation. If they persisted in refusing it, they should experience all his power : it only remained therefore for the Pirates to make their choice between a shameful retreat, preceded by a

restitution of all their booty, and a mortal engagement.

From this moment Morgan excited all his brave companions in arms to the most persevering activity. He ordered all his hostages, prisoners, and slaves to be secured, and carefully watched: next he ordered all the pitch, tar, and sulphur he had, to be collected together, as well as all the gunpowder he could spare, in order to convert one of his largest vessels into a fire-ship: whither he directed all his combustibles to be conveyed. He formed various masses of pitch and sulphur, mixed with tar and powder, and proper to be shot; and took every possible measure to give the greatest effect to these extraordinary expedients. The side planks of the ship were prepared on the inside in such a manner that they would burst and shiver to pieces: there was not a single stratagem which he did not conceive, in order to conceal both the nature and extent of his defensive resources. Upon deck were placed blocks of wood dressed like men, with hats, arms, and coloured clothes; so that these figures might at a distance be taken for soldiers. In the body of the vessel were made several port-holes, in which were placed pieces of painted wood, rounded in the shape of cannons. On her helm was hoisted a large English flag, that nothing might even seem to be wanting, in order to give her the appearance of a large English ship of war. This vessel was to open the way, and the other barks of various sizes were to follow her in a line one after the other. In one of them were contained all the male prisoners; in another were all the women, together with all the valuable effects, consisting of silver and diamonds; while the remainder of the plunder was distributed on board the other ships. But previously to setting sail, every Free-booter was obliged to swear, between Morgan's hands, that they would fight without asking quarter, until their very latest gasp.

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days for reflection, at the expiration of which he was to attack them. That period had elapsed, and he had not appeared; nor, indeed, had they heard any thing spoken concerning him. In fact, the Spaniards had so calculated upon the superiority of their force, that all precipitation on their part appeared to them unnecessary. They did not consider that these men, who were so formidable in their operations, would find in despair an increase of energy. In short, the Spaniards, blinded by conceit, disdained to observe, that with such men they had not an hour to lose; and thus left Morgan the time which was necessary to complete his preparations for a most desperate attack.

At the end of six days he was ready; and, on the 30th of April 1669, he advanced towards the Spaniards, who were quietly at anchor. The dawn was just beginning to appear. The admiral, whose ship was moored in the midst of the narrow channel, expeditiously prepared to receive the enemy; and mistaking the fire-ship for the chief of the Pirates' vessels, he suffered it to approach him. He was astonished that, although she was so near, and had such a numerous crew upon deck, not a single cannon was fired. Supposing the Free-booters intended to board him (as he knew it was their favourite manœuvre), he suspended his firing, in order that he might oppose the stronger resistance. Nothing could render the Pirates a greater service than this inactivity: never was the truth of the ancient proverb more verified, that "Fortune favours the bold."

A few well-directed cannon-shot were sufficient to shatter the frail machine to pieces, and sink it to the bottom; as, in fact, it was scarcely the skeleton of a vessel. The Spaniards did not perceive their error until the fire-ship was close by them: from that moment all their efforts to stop its progress were useless. The few Free-booters that were on board, fastened it to a Spanish ship, and, as is usual in this kind of operations, rapidly threw themselves into a canoe which

had been brought for that purpose. The Spanish admiral, however, displayed much presence of mind: he ordered several Spaniards to board the fire-ship, in order to cut down its masts, and, if it were possible, to prevent the explosion of the flames; but his active adversaries were beforehand with him, and, as they were quitting the fire-ship, had already kindled the combustibles it contained. In a very short time the admiral's ship took fire, which raged with such vehemence, that she was almost instantly buried in the waves, together with the greater part of the crew. Many of the Spaniards had thrown themselves into the sea, and were endeavouring to save themselves by swimming, but they sank before they could reach the shore. Some of them indeed might have received assistance from the Free-booters, who, from motives of humanity or from some other impulse more congenial to their character, attempted to rescue them from the sea; but the Spaniards preferred to perish, rather than owe their lives to those ferocious enemies, from whom they apprehended a treatment worse, perhaps, than death. A very small number only succeeded in landing; among whom was the Spanish admiral, who had taken refuge in a shallop, the moment he saw his ship in flames.

The Free-booters availed themselves of the first moment of their enemies' consternation, to attack the second ship of war; which they took by boarding, after a feeble resistance. They made the air re-echo with their cries of victory, as soon as they beheld the principal vessel disappear. At the sight of these astonishing events, which to them seemed miraculous, the Spaniards on board the third ship were struck with such a panic, that they thought less of fighting than of saving themselves. They therefore cut their cables, and rapidly made for the fort; before which they bored their vessel, and sunk her to the bottom. The Pirates hastened to seize at least a few pieces of the floating wreck; but the moment the Spaniards

that were on shore saw them approaching, they set the wreck on fire.—All these circumstances, just related, occupied no more than *one hour*!

This astonishing deliverance at so critical an emergency, and the gaining of such a signal and complete victory in so short a time, with such little force, and without losing a single man; was to the Pirates almost a dream. But they were not content with it: they determined without delay to attack the fort, which was guarded by the seamen who had saved themselves, not indeed with the hope of finding any thing to plunder, but merely that they might impress the Spaniards with an exalted idea of their courage. The Spaniards, however, had to congratulate themselves on their foresight in putting the fort into a state of defence: under the conduct of the admiral, who had likewise fled thither, they made such excellent use of their cannons, and in general defended themselves with so much vigour, that the Pirates, who could neither raise batteries nor plant ladders against the walls, were obliged to relinquish the assault, and withdrew on board their ships, somewhat confused, and bitterly regretting their folly, having lost thirty men killed, and forty wounded.

From a Spanish pilot, who fell into their hands, Morgan received an explanation of all that had occurred previously to their arrival. The hostile fleet, which was at first six ships strong, had been sent out from Spain for the express purpose of exterminating the Free-booters; but the two largest vessels, each of which mounted sixty-six guns, were thought incapable of being effectively employed in the American latitudes; they were therefore sent back, and one of them had sunk in a storm. Don Alphonso, whose chief ship (the *St. Louis*) was manned by a crew of three hundred men, was dispatched, with the rest of the squadron, in quest of the Free-booters. Not meeting with them, either at Hispaniola, Campechy, St. Domingo, or Caracas, he congratulated himself on find-

ing them at Maracáibo. Two days before the fatal catastrophe, he was informed by a negro, who had escaped from the Pirates, that they were preparing a fire-ship : he received this news with disdain.—“ How “ can those rascals,” said he, “ have ingenuity enough “ to construct such a ship ? Where will they find “ instruments and materials necessary for that purpose ?” The Spanish pilot also related, that on board the vessel, which had been sunk, there was silver, both in bullion and money, to the value of forty thousand piasters.

This information Morgan thought ought not to be neglected ; and his active Free-booters spared no pains to draw up this treasure from the sea ; and thus pay themselves for so many fatigues, from which they had hitherto gained nothing but glory. Morgan therefore left one ship behind, the crew of which succeeded in drawing up from the bottom of the sea, about twenty quintals, as well in ingots as in moveables, both of silver and piasters. This interval was employed by that indefatigable commander in returning to Maracáibo with the remainder of his fleet. He there appropriated to his own use the frigate that had been captured from the Spaniards, and which mounted twenty-two guns, being the smallest vessel of their squadron. He repeated to the Spanish admiral his injunction of paying a ransom for the town, if he was desirous of rescuing it from total destruction : but the latter, overwhelmed with the weight of his misfortunes, insensible to any other losses than those he had already experienced, and having nothing to apprehend for himself from the destruction with which Maracáibo was threatened, would listen to no such proposition. But the terrified inhabitants were more tractable : without the admiral's permission, they capitulated with Morgan, and gave him twenty thousand piasters, by way of ransom, and five hundred head of cattle for the sustenance of his crew.

Still, however, the Free-booters had another great

difficulty to surmount. In order to re-enter the ocean from the lake, they had to pass close by that fort, which had resisted their valour, and which had already cost them so many men; to have attempted a second attack would have been imprudent; as its success was, at the best, very uncertain, and, even if they were successful, it would not increase their booty. On the other hand, if they risked a passage under the cannons of that formidable fort, their ships would either be dismantled or at least greatly damaged; and the majority, if not all, of themselves being incapable of pursuing their route, would fall into the hands of their enemies. In this dilemma, Morgan tried what effect the boldness of his language and new threats would produce: he therefore sent a message to Don Alphonso, to inform him, that he would set all the prisoners at liberty, provided a free passage was granted; but that, in case of a refusal, he would hang them all upon the masts of his ships; and that, notwithstanding, he pledged his word to the Spaniards that he would pass in defiance of every obstacle.

Some prisoners were charged with the conveyance of this severe message to the admiral; whom they conjured with tears to take pity on their wives and children; but the Spanish commander was inexorable; he was too much chagrined in having lost his fleet in such a manner; he still flattered himself that he might be able to repair his disgrace, and alleviate his vexation, by precipitating those insolent Pirates to the bottom of the sea, at the very moment they were passing. The persons deputed by Morgan, who were so exceedingly interested in the success of their mission, interceding for their friends, for their families, and for themselves, met therefore with a very indifferent reception. The admiral reproached them with their cowardice, and told them,—“If you had prevented the entrance of these Pirates, as I am determined to prevent their departure, you would never have been in your present situation.”

They had no other answer to carry back ; and Morgan received the admiral's reply with his usual arrogance. " Well then," said he, " since the admiral persists in refusing me a free passage, I will find " a way by which to pass, without his consent : " and he took his measures accordingly.

First, he ordered every one to bring the plunder he had collected, in order that it might be immediately divided among all the Free-booters. It was estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand piasters, both in gold, silver, and in precious stones, without reckoning the slaves and an immense quantity of merchandize. Every individual then received his share ; which he was from that moment charged to defend.

While this division was carrying into effect, Morgan conceived a military manœuvre. Very early in the morning he caused some hundreds of Free-booters to be conducted in small vessels and canoes, to be landed in a place abounding with tall reeds. After lying concealed there for some hours, they returned one by one to their canoes, creeping closely along the ground, walking partly on their hands, and in short adopting every possible precaution to prevent discovery. Having thus reached their canoes, they lay down on board, either flat on their back, or with the face downwards ; and the canoes, which to all appearance were empty, were rowed back to the spot which they had quitted. This manœuvre was repeated several times in the day, even in sight of the fort ; so as to persuade the Spaniards that all the Free-booters were disembarked, and that they would not fail to attack them on the land side, during the following night. Deceived by these appearances, the Spaniards stationed all their large guns on that side, and likewise posted nearly the whole of their soldiers there, so as to leave the side next to the sea almost in a defenceless state. This was precisely what the Free-booters had calculated upon ; and they availed themselves of this circumstance with their accustomed address. On the ap-

approach of night, they all went on board the ships, raised their anchors during night, and abandoning themselves to the current, they did not unfurl their sails till they were actually in front of the fort. The light of the moon disclosed to the Spaniards, though somewhat too late, their enemies' stratagem. They hastily re-conducted their cannons to the side next the sea, and commenced a very sharp fire, but which produced scarcely any effect. The course of the Pirates was favoured with the wind: their ships sustained only trifling damages; and they successfully reached the ocean, after having taken leave of the fort by several discharges of artillery. The moment Morgan was out of danger, he landed all his prisoners on the adjacent shore, except the hostages whom he had carried away from Gibraltar, as the ransom of that place, had not been completely discharged.

Scarcely had his ships regained the ocean, when they encountered a horrible tempest, which threatened them with a loss, that appeared the more inevitable as they were all more or less damaged. The Pirates lost their anchors and their masts, and were also in momentary apprehension of being sunk: the wind tossed them about with incessant violence. On the one hand, they were contiguous to a coast, where they could not land without risking great dangers of another description; behind them were the Spaniards, who would gladly have availed themselves of such an opportunity for retaliation. Never were navigators placed in a more critical situation. Some of their ships admitted water from every side, notwithstanding the indefatigable exertions made by the crews to keep the pumps going, beside the other expedients usually resorted to in such cases. Others were so much shattered by the storm, that it became necessary to bind them together in various parts with thick cables, to prevent their falling to pieces. This hurricane, which was accompanied with thunder and lightning, continued four days without intermission: and, during

the whole of that period, the Free-booters' eyes were (to use one of these Pirates' expressions) *constantly open for fear they should be shut for ever*. When calm weather was restored, alarms succeeded, which were not less acute than those they had already experienced, though of another kind. They discovered six ships, which at first they took, in the moment of despair, to be Spaniards; but their fear was quickly converted into joy. The ships were a French squadron under the command of admiral D'Estrées, from whom they received that assistance of which they stood in such pressing need. For the present, therefore, the Pirates separated, some of them sailing for St. Domingo, while the rest, who were under Morgan's orders, directed their course to Jamaica, where they arrived without encountering any further accidents.

## CHAP VIII.

**M**ORGAN had, from his various expeditions, acquired an immense fortune; and was at length desirous of enjoying some repose: but his comrades speedily dissipated the produce of their depredations, and had even contracted new debts. They besought him, therefore, to plan new enterprizes, in such a pressing manner, that he yielded to their entreaties. The moment his resolution was taken and known, the Free-booters flocked together from all parts, from Jamaica, St. Domingo, and Tortugas; some in ships, others in canoes, in order to place themselves under his command. This example was followed by a great number of hunters from the island of St. Domingo, who had never been on the sea, and who crossed vast forests, that they might join him.



The 24th day of October 1670 was fixed upon for their departure. A very important measure, however, yet remained to be taken. Ships, crews, arms, naval ammunition, all was ready ; but provisions were wanting ; nor could a sufficient quantity be procured on the spot, even for money. They were obliged to send for them at a distance. For this purpose, four ships and four hundred men were dispatched, with directions to land wherever they thought most convenient, and to carry off from the towns and villages, in the vicinity of their landing places, all the corn and provisions they could find ; while the hunters scoured the woods to collect, living or dead, all the animals they could procure.

This flotilla, which was commanded by a Frenchman of the name of Brodely, directed its course towards the river of La Hacha. Here the Pirates met with a ship, whose cargo consisted entirely of grain ; and, faithful to their mission, they took possession of it. Immediately after they assaulted the town of Rancheria, in the vicinity of Carthagena. It was valiantly defended by the inhabitants ; nor did they surrender until after an engagement of six hours. The place was then plundered, and, according to the military code of these robbers, was to be reduced to ashes, unless the inhabitants submitted to a heavy ransom, payable in maize. To comply with this requisition, time was necessary ; and the Pirates were obliged to wait five weeks before they could set sail. Their comrades had given them up for lost, and had already formed other plans for supplying themselves with provisions ; when the flotilla re-appeared, to the very great satisfaction of the Free-booters. The maize, which it brought, was divided among the whole fleet ; but all the rest of the booty, agreeably to Morgan's decision, was relinquished to those who had so bravely acquired it.

At length the fleet under his orders, the greatest that had been commanded by a Free-booter in the

West Indian seas, was ready to set sail. It consisted of thirty-seven ships, of various rates; the admiral's ship carrying thirty-two, the others twenty, eighteen, and seventeen cannon; and the smallest four pieces. On board the fleet there was a great quantity of ammunition, together with powder machines of a new invention, and also two hundred marines, exclusive of the seamen and swabbers. With such force great expectations might be formed: Morgan, therefore, promised his Free-booters, that, on their return, they should have wherewith to spend their remaining days agreeably; provided, as already had too often happened, they did not attack places of little strength, but would direct their valour against the strongest; for experience had caused Morgan to adopt this principle:—*Where the Spaniards obstinately defend themselves, there is something to take; consequently their best fortified places are those which contain the most treasure.*

Morgan hoisted on his main-mast the royal flag of England, and divided his naval forces into two squadrons, distinguished by white and red flags, and formally assumed the title of *admiral*. He afterwards nominated a vice-admiral for each squadron, who took an oath of fidelity to him; established signals; and chose all his officers. There were four, on whom this chief of robbers had even the impudence to confer the title of admiral; thus extending, in a most arbitrary manner, the power which had been granted him by the governor of Jamaica. They were, indeed, only empty titles, which were of no value whatever except among his men; though, in a political point of view, they were not without advantages. They caused a kind of engagement to be contracted with honour; they excited emulation; bound these untractable Pirates more particularly to obedience; and strengthened the ties of subordination between superiors and inferiors.

Morgan also formally issued patents and letters of

marque, empowering them to attack with hostilities, and in every possible manner, the Spaniards, both on sea and on land, so long as they were the declared enemies of his sovereign, the king of England.

After these acts of authority, Morgan assembled all his officers; on whom he conferred full powers to sign in the name of the whole fleet, a convention or agreement with regard to plunder. It was stipulated that Morgan, as admiral, should first have an hundredth part of the whole, and afterwards, for every hundred men, such a share as every private Free-booter would have; that the commanding officer of every ship should have eight shares, beside what would be due to him on account of the money, provisions, &c. which he might have advanced for the fitting out his vessel; that the chief surgeon should, in addition to his appointments, receive one hundred piasters out of the whole, for medicines; that every ships' carpenter, independently of his pay, should have a present of one hundred piasters. By the same agreement, the indemnities, already fixed in the general regulation for the loss of different limbs, were augmented; and particular rewards were established for every illustrious achievement, either in engagements or in the attacking of fortresses.

Until all these measures had been effectuated, Morgan did not announce his plan to his companions. He proposed nothing less than to attack Panama, that great and opulent city, where he hoped to find accumulated all those heaps of gold and silver which were annually sent, as a tribute, from America to Europe. The difficulties in executing such a plan were apparently innumerable. The chief obstacle was, the great distance of that city from the sea; and not an individual on board the fleet was acquainted with the road that led thither. To remedy this inconvenience, the admiral determined in the first instance to go to the island of St. Catherine, where the Spa-

niards confined their criminals, and thence to supply themselves with guides.

The passage was rapid. Morgan landed in that island one thousand men ; who, by threatening to put to death every one that hesitated for a moment to surrender, so terrified the Spaniards, that they speedily capitulated. It was stipulated that, to save at least the honour of the garrison, there should be a sham fight : in consequence of this, a very sharp fire ensued, from the forts on one side, and on the other from the ships ; but on both sides the cannons discharged only powder. Farther, to give a serious appearance to this military comedy, the governor suffered himself to be taken, while attempting to pass from fort Jerome to another fort. Hence followed an apparent disorder. At the beginning, the crafty Morgan did not rely too implicitly on this feint ; and to provide for every event, he secretly ordered his soldiers to load their fuses with bullets, but to discharge them in the air, unless they perceived some treachery on the part of the Spaniards. But his enemies adhered most faithfully to their capitulation : and this mock engagement, in which neither party was sparing of powder, was followed for some time with all the circumstances which could give it the semblance of reality. Ten forts surrendered, one after another, after sustaining a kind of siege or assault : and this series of successes did not cost the life of a single man, nor even a scratch, on the point either of the victors or of the conquered.

All the inhabitants of the island were shut up in the great fort of Santa Teresa, which was built on a steep rock : and the conquerors, who had not taken any sustenance for twenty-four hours, declared a most serious war against the horned cattle and game of the district.

In the isle of St. Constantine, he found four hundred and fifty-nine persons of both sexes ; one hundred and ninety of whom were soldiers, forty-two criminals, eighty-five children, and sixty-six negroes. There

were ten forts, containing sixty-eight cannons, and which were so defended in other respects by nature, that very small garrisons were deemed amply sufficient to protect them. Beside an immense quantity of fuses and grenades (which were at that time much used), upwards of three hundred quintals of gunpowder were found in the arsenal. The whole of this ammunition was carried on board the Pirates' ships: the cannon, which could be of no service to them, were spiked; their carriages were burnt; and all the forts demolished excepting one, which the Free-booters themselves garrisoned. Morgan selected three of the criminals to serve him as guides to Panama; and whom he afterwards, on his return to Jamaica, set at liberty; even giving them a share in the booty.

The plan, conceived by this intrepid chieftain, inspired all his companions in arms with genuine enthusiasm: it had a character of grandeur and audacity that enflamed their courage; how capable they were of executing it, the subsequent pages will demonstrate.

Panama, which stood on the shore of the South Sea, in the 9th degree of northern latitude, was at that time one of the greatest, as well as most opulent cities in America. It contained two thousand large houses, the greater number of which were very fine piles of building, and five thousand smaller dwellings, each mostly three stories in height. Of these, a pretty considerable number were erected of stone, all the rest of cedar wood, very elegantly constructed, and magnificently furnished. That city was defended by a rampart, and was surrounded with walls. It was the emporium for the silver of Mexico, and the gold of Peru; whence those valuable metals were brought on the backs of mules (two thousand of which animals were kept for this purpose only), across the isthmus towards the northern coast of the South Sea. A great commerce was also carried on at Panama in negroes; which trade was at that time almost

exclusively confined to the English, Dutch, French, and Danes. With this branch of commerce the Italians were intimately acquainted, who gave lessons in it to all the rest of Europe; and, as two things were necessary (in which the Genoese were by no means deficient),—money and address,—they were chiefly occupied in the slave trade, and supplied the provinces of Peru and Chili with negroes.

At the period now referred to, the president of Panama was the principal intendant or overseer of the civil department, and captain-general of all the troops in the vice-royalty of Peru. He had in his dependency Porto Bello and Nata, two cities inhabited by the Spaniards, together with the towns of Cruces, Panama, Capira, and Veragua. The city of Panama had also a bishop, who was a suffragan of the archbishop of Lima.

The merchants lived in great opulence; and their churches were decorated with uncommon magnificence. The cathedral was erected in the Italian style, surmounted with a large cupola, and enriched with gold and silver ornaments; as also were the eight convents, which this city comprised. At a small distance from its walls, there were some small islands, alike embellished by art and by nature, where the richest inhabitants had their country houses; from which circumstance they were called the *gardens of Panama*. In short every thing concurred to render this place important and agreeable. Here several of the European nations had *palaces* for carrying on their commerce; and among these were the Genoese, who were held in great credit, and who had vast warehouses for receiving the articles of their immense trade, as also a most magnificent edifice. The principal houses were filled with beautiful paintings, and the master-pieces of the arts, which had here been accumulated,—more from an intense desire of being surrounded with all the splendour of luxury (since they possessed the means of procuring it), than from

a refined taste. Their superabundance of gold and silver had been employed in obtaining these splendid superfluities; which were of no value, but to gratify the vanity of their possessors.

Such was Panama in 1670, when the Free-booters selected it as the object of their bold attempt, and as the victim of their extravagancies; and immortalized their name by reducing it to a heap of ruins.

In the execution of this design, which stupefied the New World, they displayed equal prudence and cruelty. Previous to the adoption of any other measure, it was necessary that the Pirates should get possession of fort St. Laurent, which was situated on the banks of the river Chagre. With this view Morgan detached four ships, with four hundred men, under the command of the intrepid Brodely, who had so happily succeeded in victualling the fleet, and who was intimately acquainted with the country. Morgan continued at the island of St. Catharine, with the rest of his forces. His plan was to dissemble his vast projects against Panama, as long as it was possible, and to cause the pillage of fort St. Laurent to be regarded as a common expedition to which he would confine himself. Brodely discharged this commission with equal courage and success. That castle was situated on a lofty mountain, at the mouth of the river, and was inaccessible on almost every side. The first attempts were fruitless; and the Free-booters, who advanced openly, without any other arms but their fuses and sabres, at first lost many of their comrades: for the Spaniards not only made use of all their artillery and musquetry against them, but were also seconded by the Indians that were with them in the fort, and whose arrows were far more fatal than the bullets. The assailants saw their companions in arms fall by their side, without being able to avenge them. The danger of their present situation, and the nature of their arms, seemed to render the enterprise altogether impracticable. Their courage began to waver; their

ranks were thrown into disorder, and they already thought of retiring, when the provocations of the Spaniards inspired them with new vigour. "You heretic dogs," cried they in a triumphant tone: "You cursed English, possessed by the devil! Ah! you will go to Panama! will you? No, no; that you shall not; you shall all bite the dust here; and all your comrades shall share the same fate."

From these insulting speeches the Pirates learnt that the design of their expedition was discovered; and from that moment they determined to carry the fort, or die to a man upon the spot. They immediately commenced the assault in defiance of the shower of arrows that were discharged against them; and undismayed by the loss of their commander, both of whose legs had been carried away by a cannon ball. One of the Pirates, in whose shoulder an arrow was deeply fixed, tore it out himself, exclaiming:—"Patience, comrades, an idea strikes me; all the Spaniards are lost!" He tore some cotton out of his pocket, with which he covered his ram-rod, set the cotton on fire, and shot this burning material, in lieu of bullets, at the houses of the fort, which was covered with light wood and the leaves of palm trees. His companions collected together the arrows which were strewed around them upon the ground, and employed them in a similar manner. The effect of this novel mode of attack was most rapid: many of the houses caught fire; a powder waggon blew up. The besieged, being thus diverted from their means of defence, thought only of stopping the progress of the fire. Night came on: under cover of the darkness, the Free-booters attempted also to set on fire the palisades, which were made of a kind of wood that was easily kindled. In this attempt likewise they were crowned with success. the soil, by which the palisades were supported, fell down for want of support, and filled up the ditch. The Spaniards nevertheless continued to defend themselves with much courage, being animated by the



example of their commander, who fought till the very moment he received a mortal blow. The garrison had, throughout, the use of their cannon, which kept up a most violent fire; but the enemy had already made too much progress to be disconcerted with it: they perserved in their attack, until they at length became masters of the fort.

A great number of Spaniards, finding themselves deprived of all resource, precipitated themselves from the top of the walls into the river, that they might not fall alive into the hands of the Free-booters; who made only twenty-four prisoners, and ten of these were wounded men, who had concealed themselves among the dead, in the hope of escaping their ferocious conquerors. These twenty-four men were all that remained of three hundred and forty, who had composed the garrison, which had shortly before been reinforced: for the president of Panama, having been apprized from Carthagena of the real object of the Pirates' expedition, came to encamp, with three thousand six hundred men, in the vicinity of the threatened city. This information was confirmed to the Free-booters, after the capture of the fort. At the same time they learnt, that, among this body of troops, there were four hundred horsemen, six hundred Indians, and two hundred mulattoes; the last of whom, being very expert in hunting bulls, were intended, in case of necessity, to send two thousand of those animals among the Free-booters.

It is scarcely credible, that Brodely continued to command, notwithstanding the severity of his wounds: but he would not, by retiring, compromise the advantages which he had so dearly purchased: for out of four hundred men who had composed his little army, one hundred and sixty had been killed, eighty wounded, and of these eighty, sixty were altogether out of the battle.

The bodies of the French and English were interred; but those of the Spaniards were thrown down from

the top of the fort, and remained in a heap at the foot of its walls. Brodely found much ammunition, and abundance of provisions; with which he was the more satisfied, as he knew that the grand fleet was greatly in want of both those articles. He caused the fort to be re-built, as far as was practicable, in order that he might defend himself there, in case the Spaniards should make a speedy attempt to re-take it. In this situation he waited for Morgan, who in a short time appeared with his fleet.

As the Pirates approached, they beheld the English flag flying on the fort, and abandoned themselves to the most tumultuous joy and excessive drinking, without dreaming of the dangers occurring at the mouth of the river Chagre, beneath whose waters there was a sunken rock. The coasting pilots of those latitudes came to their assistance; but their intoxication, and their impatience, would not permit them to attend to the latter. This negligence was attended with most fatal consequences, and cost them four ships, one of which was the admiral's vessel. The crews, however, together with their ladings, were saved. This loss greatly affected Morgan, who was wholly intent upon his vast designs; but who, nevertheless, made his entrance into St. Laurent, where he left a garrison of five hundred men. He also detached from his body of troops one hundred and fifty men, for the purpose of seizing several Spanish vessels that were in the river.

The remainder of his forces Morgan directed to follow himself: they carried but a small supply of provisions, not only that his march might not be impeded, but also because the means of conveyance were very limited. Besides, he was apprehensive lest he should expose to famine the garrison he had left in the fort, who did not abound with provisions, and were cut off on every side from receiving supplies: and it was likewise necessary that he should leave sufficient for the support of all the prisoners and slaves, whose number amounted very nearly to one thousand.

After all these steps had been taken, Morgan briefly addressed his comrades, whom he excited to arm themselves with courage calculated to subdue every obstacle, that they might return to Jamaica with an increase of glory, and riches sufficient to supply all their wants for the rest of their lives. At length, on the 18th day of January, he commenced his march towards Panama, with a chosen body of Free-booters, who were thirteen hundred strong.

The greatest part of their journey was performed by water, following the course of the river. Five vessels were laden with the artillery; and the troops were placed, in a very narrow compass, on board thirty-two boats. One reason why they had brought only a small quantity of provisions, was, because they hoped to meet with a supply on their route; but, on the very day of their arrival at Rio de los Bravos, the expectations of the Pirates were frustrated. At the place where they landed, they literally found nothing: the terror, which they every-where inspired, had preceded them: the Spaniards had betaken themselves to flight, and had carried with them all their cattle, and even the very last article of their moveables. They had cut the grain and pulse without waiting for their maturity, the roots of which were even torn out of the ground: the houses and stables were empty. The first day of their voyage was spent in abstinence, tobacco affording them the only gratification that was not refused them. The second day was not more prosperous. In addition to the various impediments by which their passage was obstructed, want of rain had rendered the waters of the river so shallow, and the great number of trees which had fallen into it, presented almost insurmountable obstacles. On their arrival at the Cruz de Juan Gallego, they had no other alternative left, but to abandon their boats, and pursue their route by land; otherwise they must have resigned themselves to the confusion necessarily consequent on retracing their steps. Animated, however, by their

chieftains, whom nothing could discourage, they determined to try the adventure. On the third day their way led them to a forest, where there was no beaten path, and the soil of which was marshy. But it was indispensably necessary that they should leave this wretched passage, in order that they might reach, with incredible difficulties indeed, the town of Cedro Bueno. For all these excessive fatigues they found no indemnification whatever; there were no provisions, not even a single piece of game.

These luckless adventurers at length saw themselves surrounded by all the horrors of famine. Many of them were reduced to devour the leaves of trees; the majority were altogether destitute of sustenance. In this state of severe privations, and with very light cloathing, did they pass the nights lying on the shore, benumbed with cold, incapable of enjoying, even in the smallest degree the pleasures of sleep, and expecting with anxiety the return of day. Their courage was supported only with the hope of meeting some bodies of Spaniards, or some groupes of fugitive inhabitants, and consequently of finding provisions, with an abundance of which the latter never failed to supply themselves, when they abandoned their dwellings. Farther, the Pirates were obliged to continue their route at a small distance only from the river, as they had contrived to drag their canoes along with them; and, whenever the water was of sufficient depth, part of the men embarked on board them, while the remainder prosecuted their journey by land. They were preceded a few hundred paces by an advanced guard of thirty men, under the direction of a guide, who was intimately acquainted with the country; and the strictest silence was observed, in order that they might discover the ambuscades of the Spaniards, and, if it were possible, to make some of them prisoners.

On the fourth day the Free-Booters reached Tor-na Cavellos, a kind of fortified place; which also had been evacuated, the Spaniards having carried away

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with them every thing that was portable, and consumed the rest by fire. Their design was to leave the Pirates neither moveables nor utensils: in fact this was the only resource left them, by which they could reduce those formidable guests to such a state of privation, as to compel them to retire. The only thing which had not been burnt, or carried off, was some large sacks of hides; which was to these famished Free-booters an object of avidity, and which had almost occasioned a bloody dispute. Previously to devouring them, it was necessary to cut them into pieces with all possible equity. Thus divided, the leather was cut into small bits, these were scraped, and violently beaten between two stones. It was then soaked in water, in order to become soft, after which it was roasted; nor, thus prepared, could it have been swallowed, if they had not taken most copious draughts of water.

After this repast the Free-booters resumed their route, and arrived at Torna-Munni, where also they found an abandoned fortress. On the fifth day they reached Barbacoa; but still no place presented to their view either man, animal, or any kind of provisions whatever. Here likewise the Spaniards had taken the precaution of carrying away or destroying every thing that could serve for food. Fortunately, however, they discovered in the hollow of a rock two sacks of flour, some fruit, and two large vessels filled with wine. This discovery would have transported with joy a less numerous troop; but, to so many famished men, it presented only very feeble resource. Morgan, who did not suffer less from hunger than the rest, generously appropriated none of it to his own use, but caused this scanty supply to be distributed among those who were just ready to faint. Many indeed were almost dying. These were conveyed on board the boats, the charge of which was committed to them; while those who had hitherto had the care of the vessels, were re-united to the body that was

travelling by land. Their march was very slow, both on account of the extreme weakness of these men, even after the very moderate refreshment they had just taken, as well as from the roughness and difficulty of the way: and, during the fifth day, the Pirates had no other sustenance but the leaves of trees, and the grass of the meadows.

On the following day the Free-booters made still less progress; want of food had totally exhausted them, and they were frequently obliged to rest. At length they reached a plantation, where they found a vast quantity of maize in a granary, that had just been abandoned. What a discovery was this to men whose appetites were sharpened by such long protractedions! A great number of them devoured the grains in a raw state; the rest covered their shares with the leaves of the Banana tree, and thus cooked or roasted the maize. Reinvigorated by this food, they pursued their route; and, on the same day, they discovered a troop of Indians on the other side of the river; but those savages betook themselves to flight, so that it was impossible to reach them. The cruel Free-booters fired on them, and killed some of them; the rest escaped, exclaiming,—"Come, you English dogs, come into the meadow, we will there wait for you."

To this challenge the Pirates were little tempted to answer. Their supply of maize was exhausted; and they were further obliged to lie down in the open air without eating any thing. Hitherto, in the midst of privations the most severely painful, as well as of the most difficult labours, they had evinced an inexhaustible patience; but, at length, violent murmurs arose. Morgan and his rash enterprize became the object of their execrations: a great number of the Free-booters were desirous of returning; but the rest, although discontented, declared that they would rather perish than not terminate an expedition so far advanced, and which had cost them so much trouble.

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directed their march towards a place which they took for a town, or at all events for a village; where, to their great satisfaction, they thought they perceived at a distance the smoke issuing from several chimnies. "There, at last," said they, "we shall surely find both men and provisions." Their expectations were completely frustrated; not a single individual appeared throughout the place. They found no other articles of sustenance but a leather sack full of bread, together with a few cats and dogs, which were instantly killed and devoured. The place where they had now arrived was the town of Cruces, at which were usually landed those commodities which were conveyed up the river Chagre, in order to be carried by land to Panama, which was eight French leagues distant. Here were some fine warehouses, built of stone, and likewise some stables, belonging to the king of Spain; which, at the moment of the Pirates' arrival, were the only buildings that remained untouched, all the inhabitants having betaken themselves to flight after they had set their houses on fire. Every corner of these royal buildings was ransacked by the Freebooters, who at length discovered seventeen large vessels full of Peruvian wine, which were immediately emptied. Scarcely, however, had they drank this liquor, which was to recruit their exhausted strength, than they all fell ill. At first they thought the wine was poisoned, they were overwhelmed with consternation, and were fully persuaded that their last hour was come. Their terrors were unfounded; as their sudden indisposition was easily accounted for, by the nature of the unwholesome food they had so recently taken, by the extreme diminution of their strength, and the avidity with which they had swallowed the wine. In fact, they found themselves much better on the following day.

As Morgan had been reduced to the necessity of removing, at this place, to a distance from all his ships, he was obliged to land all his men, not even excepting

those who were most exhausted by weakness. The shallops alone, with sixty men, were sent to the spot where his vessels and largest ships had been left. A single shallop only was reserved to carry news, if occasion offered, to the flotilla. Morgan prohibited every man from going alone to any distance; and even required that they should not make excursions in troops amounting to less than a hundred men. Famine, however, compelled the Free-booters to infringe this prohibition. Six of them went out to some distance in quest of food: the event justified the foresight of their chieftain. They were attacked by a large body of Spaniards, and could not without very great difficulty regain the village: they had also the mortification to see one of their comrades taken prisoner.

Morgan now determined to prosecute his march, after reviewing his companions in arms: they amounted to eleven hundred. As he foresaw, that they were apprehensive lest their lost comrade should betray the secret of their enterprize and the state of their forces, Morgan made them believe that he had not been taken; that he had only lost his way in the woods, but had returned back to the main body.

The Free-booters were on the eighth day of their painful journey, and nothing but the hope of speedily terminating their labours could support them much longer; for they had now ascertained that they were in the way to Panama. An advanced guard of two hundred men was therefore formed, who were to watch the movements of the enemy. They marched onward for a whole day without perceiving any object whatever; when suddenly a shower of three or four thousand arrows was discharged upon them from the top of a rock. For some minutes they were struck with astonishment: no enemy presented himself to their view. They beheld around them, at their feet, above their heads, nothing but steep rocks, trees, and abysses; and, without striking a single blow, they reckoned twenty of their comrades killed or wounded.



This unexpected attack not being continued, they pursued their march across a forest; where, in a hollow way, they fell upon large body of Indians, who opposed their progress with much valour. In this engagement the Free-booters were victorious, though they lost eight killed and ten wounded. They made every possible effort to catch some of the fugitives; but these fled away with the velocity of stags across the rocks, with all the turnings and windings of which they were intimately acquainted. Not a single man fell into their hands: the Indian chieftain was wounded; and, notwithstanding he lay on the ground, he continued to fight most obstinately until he received a mortal blow. He wore a crown of party-coloured feathers. His death made a great impression on the Indians, and was the principal cause of their defeat. The ground on which they had attacked the Pirates, was so favourable, that one hundred men would have been fully sufficient to have destroyed the whole troop of Free-booters. The latter availed themselves of the inconceivable negligence of the Spaniards, in not taking more effectual measures for the defence of such an important pass. They exerted all possible diligence to make their way out of this labyrinth of rocks, (where a second attack of a similar kind would have been attended with consequences of the most fatal tendency to them), and to get into an open and level country.

On the ninth day they found themselves in a plain, or spacious meadow, entirely divested of trees, so that nothing could shelter them against the ardour of the solar rays. It rained, however, most copiously at the moment of their arrival; and this circumstance added yet more to their difficulties. In a short time they were wetted to their bones. In case of a sudden attack, their arms and ammunition would have afforded them but little assistance; while the Spaniards would be able most effectively to use their spears, which could not be damaged by the rains. No human

means could remedy this inconvenience : the Pirates had only to abandon themselves to their fate. Morgan most ardently desired that some prisoner might fall into his hands ; from whose confessions, either voluntary or involuntary, he might obtain some information by which to direct his march. With this intention fifty men were detached in different directions, with a promised reward of three hundred piasters, out of the society's stock, to the man that should bring in either a Spaniard or an Indian, exclusively of the share of booty to which he should be intitled.

About noon they ascended a steep hill, from whose summit they began to discover the South Sea. At this sight, which announced the speedy termination of their miseries, they were transported with joy. From the top of this eminence they also perceived six ships departing from Panama, and sailing towards the islands of Taroga and Tarogilla, which were situated in the vicinity of that city. Panama itself, for the present, escaped their observation ; but how was their satisfaction increased on beholding, in a valley, a vast number of bulls, cows, horses, and particularly of asses, which were under the care of some Spaniards, who betook themselves to flight the moment they saw the formidable Pirates approaching. To the latter, no reconter could be more desirable. They were ready to faint with famine and fatigue : the sustenance which they immediately devoured, would contribute to give them that strength, which every moment would become so necessary to them ; and it is altogether inconceivable how the Spaniards could abandon such a prey to their famished enemies. This want of foresight can only be accounted for by the panic with which the Spaniards were seized.

The spot, which had just been deserted, was occupied for some hours by the Free-booters : they stood in great need of rest, and were in much greater want of provisions. They rushed therefore on the animals that had been left behind, of which they killed a great

number, and devoured their half-raw flesh with such avidity, that the blood streamed in torrents from their lips over the whole of their bodies. What could not be consumed on the spot, they carried away with them: for Morgan, apprehensive of an attack by the flower of the Spaniards' troops, allowed them only a small space of time for repose. They resumed their march: but the uncertainty in which they had so long been involved was not yet at an end.

Notwithstanding all that chieftains' expedients, his spies could not succeed in taking a single prisoner,—a circumstance which seems almost incredible in a populous country; and after nine days' march Morgan was deprived of every hint that was so essentially necessary to him. Farther, the Free-booters were utterly ignorant how near they were to Panama; when, from the summit of a hill, they discovered the towers of that city. They could not refrain from shouting for joy. The air re-echoed with the sound of trumpets and cymbals; they threw up their caps in the air, vociferating victory! victory! In this place they halted, and pitched their camp, with the firm determination of attacking Panama on the following day.

At this time the Spaniards were in the utmost confusion. The first defensive step which they deemed it advisable to take, was to dispatch fifty horsemen for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy. The detachment approached the camp within musquet-shot, and offered some insults to the Free-booters, but speedily returned towards the city, exclaiming:—"Perros! nos veremos!" (*You dogs, we will see you again!*) Shortly after a second detachment of two hundred men appeared, who occupied every pass, in order that, after the victory, which they considered as infallible, not one single Pirate might escape. The Free-booters, however, beheld with the utmost concern the measures which were adopted in order to block them up; and, previously to every other consideration, turned their attention towards their abundant supply of provisions.

As they were prohibited from kindling any fire, they devoured the meat they had brought with them *entirely in a raw state*. They could not conceive how the Spaniards could carry their neglect or their security to such a length, as not to disturb that repose of which they stood so greatly in need ; nor how they could allow them the necessary leisure for recruiting their exhausted strength, and thus become the more fit for battle. They availed themselves of this oversight, and were perfectly at ease ; after they had glutted themselves with animal food, they lay down upon the grass, and slept quietly. Throughout the night the Spaniards made their artillery roar without intermission, in order to display their vigilance.

On the ensuing day (which was the tenth of their march), January 27th 1671, the Pirates advanced at a very early hour, with their military music, and took the road leading to Panama. By the advice, however, of one of their guides, they quitted the main road, and went out of the way across a thick wood, through which there was no foot-path. For this the Spaniards were unprepared ; having confined themselves to the erection of batteries, and construction of redoubts, on the highway. They soon perceived the inutility of this measure, and were obliged to relinquish their guns, in order to oppose their enemies on the contrary side ; but, not being able to take their cannons away from their batteries, they were consequently incapacitated from making use of one part of their defensive means.

After two hours' march the Free-booters discovered the hostile army, which was a very fine one, well equipped, and was advancing in battle array. The soldiers were clad in party-coloured silk stuffs, and the horsemen were strutting upon their mettlesome steeds, as if they were going to a bull fight.\* The president

\* In Spain, the diversion of bull fighting is in high estimation, which is conducted with great magnificence, the nobles and ladies of rank attending as spectators.

in person took the command of this body of troops, which was of considerable importance, both for the country and likewise for the forces supported there by Spain. He marched against the Pirates with four regiments of the line, consisting of infantry, besides two thousand four hundred foot soldiers of another description, four hundred horsemen, and two thousand four hundred wild bulls under the conduct of several hundred Indians and negroes.

This army, which extended over the whole plain, was discovered by the Pirates from the summit of a small eminence, and presented to them a most imposing appearance, insomuch that they were struck with a kind of terror. They now began to feel some anxiety as to the event of an engagement with forces so greatly superior to them in point of numbers; but they were soon convinced that they must actually conquer or die, and encouraged each other to fight till the very last drop of their blood was shed; a determination this, which, on the part of these intrepid men, was by no means a vain resolution.

They divided themselves into three bodies, placed two hundred of their best marksmen in the front, and marched boldly against the Spaniards, who were drawn up in order of battle on a very spacious plain. The governor immediately ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy, and the wild bulls to be at the same time let loose upon them. But the ground was unfavourable for this purpose: the horsemen encountered nothing but marshes, behind which were posted the two hundred marksmen, who kept up such a continual and well-directed fire, that horses and men fell in heaps beneath their shots, before it was possible to effect a retreat. Fifty horsemen only escaped this formidable discharge of musquetry. The bulls, on whose services they had calculated so highly, it became impracticable to drive among the Pirates. Hence such a confusion arose as completely reversed the whole plan of the battle. The Free-booters in

consequence attacked the Spanish infantry with so much the greater vigour ; they successively knelt on the ground, fired, and rose up again. While those, who were on one knee, directed their fire against the hostile army, which began to waver, the Pirates, who continued standing, rapidly charged their fire-arms. Every man, on this occasion, evinced a dexterity and presence of mind which decided the fate of the battle : almost every shot was fatal. The Spaniards nevertheless continued to defend themselves with much valour, which proved of little service against an exasperated enemy ; whose courage, inflamed by despair, derived additional strength from their successes. At length the Spaniards had recourse to their last expedient ; the wild cattle were let loose upon the rear of the Free-booters. The former never dreamt that these had, in this expedition, associated the Buccaneers, who had for a long time been accustomed to act against these animals : and this attack, which was to be decisive, frustrated all their plans. The Buccaneers were in their element : by their shouts they intimidated the bulls, at the same time waving party-coloured flags before them, fired on the animals and laid them all upon the ground without exception. The engagement lasted two hours ; and notwithstanding the Spaniards were so greatly superior both in numbers and in arms, it terminated entirely in favour of the Free-booters. The Spaniards lost the chief part of their cavalry, on which they had built their expectations of victory : the remainder returned to the charge repeatedly ; but their efforts only tended to render their defeat the more complete. A very few horsemen only escaped, together with the ruins of the infantry, who threw down their arms to facilitate the rapidity of their flight. Six hundred Spaniards lay dead on the field of battle ; beside whom, they sustained a very considerable loss in such as were wounded and taken prisoners. Among the latter were some Franciscans, who had exposed themselves to the greatest dangers,

in order that they might animate the combatants, and afford the last consolations of religion to the dying. They were conducted into Morgan's presence, who instantly pronounced sentence of death upon them. In vain did these hapless religious implore that pity, which they might claimed from a less ferocious enemy: they were all killed by pistol-shot. Many Spaniards who were apprehensive lest they should be overtaken in their flight, had concealed themselves in the flags and rushes along the banks of the river. They were mostly discovered, and hacked to pieces by the merciless Pirates.

The Free-booters' task, however, was by no means, executed; they had yet to take Panama, a large and populous city, which was defended by forts and batteries, and into which the governor had retired, together with the fugitives. The conquest of this place was the more difficult, as the Pirates had dearly purchased their victory, and their remaining forces were in no respect adequate to encounter the difficulties attending such an enterprize. It was, however, determined to make an attempt. Morgan had just procured, from a wounded captive Spanish officer, the necessary information; but he had not a moment to lose. It would not do to allow the Spaniards time to adopt new measures of defence: the city was therefore assaulted on the same day, in defiance of a formidable artillery, which committed great havoc among the Free-booters; and, at the end of three hours, they were in possession of Panama.

The capture of that city was followed by a general pillage. Morgan, who dreaded the consequences of excessive intoxication, especially after his men had suffered such a long abstinence, prohibited them from drinking any wine, under the severest penalties. He foresaw that such a prohibition would infallibly be infringed, unless it were sanctioned by an argument far more powerful than the fear of punishment: he therefore caused it to be announced that he had

received information that the Spaniards had poisoned all their wine. This dexterous falsehood produced the desired effect; and, for the first time, the Freebooters were temperate.

The majority of the inhabitants of Panama had betaken themselves to flight; they had embarked their women, their riches, all their moveables that were of any value, and small in bulk, and had sent this valuable cargo to the island of Taroga. The men were dispersed over the continent, but in sufficiently great numbers to appear formidable to the Pirates; whose forces were much diminished, and who could not expect any assistance from abroad. They therefore continued constantly together; and, for their greater security, most of them encamped without the walls.

We have now reached the time when Morgan committed a barbarous and incomprehensible action; concerning which his comrades (some of whom were his historians), have given only a very ambiguous explanation.

Notwithstanding all the precious articles had been carried away from Panama, there still remained, as in every great European trading city, a vast number of shops, warehouses, and magazines, filled with every kind of merchandize. Beside a very great quantity of wrought and manufactured articles, the productions of luxury and industry, that city contained immense stores of flour, wine, and spices; vast magazines of that metal which is justly deemed the most valuable of all, because it is the most useful; extensive buildings, in which were accumulated prodigious stores of iron tools and implements, anvils, and ploughs, which had been received from Europe, and were destined to revive the Spanish colonies. Some judgment may be formed, respecting the value of the last-mentioned articles only, when it is considered that a quintal (1 cwt.) of iron was sold at Panamá for thirty-two piasters (about £6. 12.).

All these multifarious articles, so essentially neces-



nary for the furnishing an hemisphere with provisions, were (it should seem) of no value in the estimation of the ferocious Morgan, because he could not carry them away; although, by preserving them, he might have made use of them to demand a specific ransom for them. Circumstances might also enable him to derive some further advantages from them; but, in fact, whatever was distant, or uncertain, presented no attraction to this barbarian, who was eager to enjoy, but more ardent to destroy. He was struck with one consideration only. All these bulky productions of art and industry were, for the moment, of no use to the Free-booters. Of what importance to him was the ruin of many thousand innocent families? He consulted only the ferocity of his character; and, without communicating his design to any individual, he secretly caused the city to be on fire in several places. In a few hours it was almost entirely consumed. The Spaniards that had continued at Panama, as well as the Pirates themselves, who were at first ignorant whence the conflagration proceeded, ran together, and united their efforts in order to extinguish the flames. They brought water, and pulled down houses, with a view to prevent the further progress of that destructive element. All their exertions were fruitless. A violent wind was blowing; and, in addition to this circumstance (as already intimated), the principal part of the buildings in that city were constructed of wood. Its finest houses, together with their valuable furniture, among which was the magnificent palace belonging to the Genoese, the churches, convents, court-house, shops, hospitals, pious foundations, warehouses loaded with sacks of flour, nearly two hundred other warehouses filled with merchandize,—all were reduced to ashes! The fire also consumed a great number of beasts, horses, mules, and many slaves who had concealed themselves, and who were burnt alive. A very few houses only escaped the fire, which continued burning upwards of four weeks. Amidst the havoc produced in every quarter

by the conflagration, the Free-booters did not neglect to pillage as much as they possible could ; by which means they collected a considerable booty.

Morgan seemed ashamed of his atrocious resolution ; he carefully concealed that he had ever adopted it, and gave out that the Spaniards themselves had set their city on fire. In the morning it was nothing but a heap of ashes. A retired quarter, however, which was poor, wretchedly built, and occupied only by muleteers, was spared by the flames ; as also were two convents, and the palace belonging to the president, which was sheltered by its remote situation.

After this deplorable catastrophe, the Pirates assembled together, and entrenched themselves under the ruins of a church. Morgan detached a large body of well armed troops to go and announce his victory to those who had been left behind at Chagre, and to inform them of their situation. He likewise sent out two other detachments, of one hundred men each, to collect and bring in prisoners : he further sent out a well manned ship to cruise in the South Sea, and attempt the capture of some prizes there. This vessel, in fact, returned at the end of two days, with three ships that had been taken ; but brought, at the same time, some information which extremely chagrined both the Pirates and their chieftain. A large galleon had escaped their vigilance, which was laden with the treasures of the churches, as well as with a large quantity of silver, gold, and other precious articles, belonging to the king and the most opulent traders of Panama. On board this galleon also were the wives of the principal inhabitants, together with all their jewels, and every article that could possibly be conveyed away. They had also succeeded in embarking on board this same ship a great number of children, and all the religious in the city. She had no other cargo, and did not even carry any ballast ; or rather, the ingots of gold and silver supplied the place of ballast. This vessel, although

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laden with so many objects, the preservation of which was of such vast moment, was defended by no more than six guns, and a scanty crew; beside which, she was in other respects but indifferently provided. She was sailing very securely; for, as the Free-booters had arrived by land, the Spaniards were fully persuaded they could undertake nothing by sea. It seemed impossible for a prize of such immense consequence to escape the rapacity of those corsairs. They discovered her, towards evening, at some distance from them; and had the address to intercept, without being discovered, the ship's boat, on board which were seven persons, from whom they received information highly useful for the furtherance of their designs. From this moment, Chart, the commander of the pirate ship, considered the capture of the galleon as infallible; he waited only for the return of day, that he might take possession of her. It would otherwise have been impossible to attempt a capture, easy as it might appear, during the night. His crew, who were abundantly stocked with wine, and who had been in quest of women and girls in the small islands that lay in the vicinity of Panama, were so given up to the excesses of intoxication and debauchery, that, for the moment, they were incapacitated from firing at her. On the following day they had cause to repent of this forced delay, the consequences of which were irreparable. He still entertained hopes of overtaking the galleon; but she was now completely out of his reach. What despair must his comrades have experienced, on seeing that their negligence had deprived them of such a valuable prey; and that a few inconsiderable prizes constituted the whole fruit of their cruise!

Morgan, however, was not so easily discouraged, and did not yet despair of this rich capture. He had learnt that the galleon was destitute of water, of provisions, and even of sails and ropes: he conjectured that a ship so wretchedly supplied could not have gone to any distance; and that she had probably taken

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refuge in some bay that was in the vicinity of Panama. He therefore detached four of his barks, which cruised for eight days in the circumjacent latitudes. Their cruise was fruitless; and the little flotilla returned without bringing in a single capture, and even without giving any hope of making a prize.

From Chagre the most satisfactory information was received. Every thing there was quiet, and in the best order. The garrison had succeeded in taking a Spanish ship, which had unsuspectingly passed near the fort. She came from Carthagena, and there were found on board some chests full of emeralds. In consequence of this circumstance, Morgan determined to prolong his residence at Panama for some time; for he was not yet undeceived. He still flattered himself with the hope of ultimately meeting with this galleon, the object of general desire, and towards which his attention and his prayers were incessantly directed. In the mean time his men pursued their researches into the ruins of the consumed houses, within which treasure was most certainly concealed. In fact, some of the Pirates did discover treasure in the wells and cellars, where it had been secreted by the Spaniards; while others of them were employed in burning the rich stuffs, in order to obtain the gold and silver with which they were embroidered.

Every apprehension of any attack from the Spaniards being thus removed, the Free-booters settled themselves in such of the houses as were spared by the flames, and lived in perfect tranquillity, relying on the active vigilance of their strong patrols, who scoured the environs, and continually brought back booty and prisoners. In a short time they had seized upwards of one hundred mules richly laden, and more than two hundred persons of both sexes, who were tortured in the most barbarous manner, in order to compel them to disclose the places where they had concealed their precious effects. Many of them actually expired amidst these tortures; but their death affected their

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executioners so much the less, as it released them from several useless mouths, and a scarcity of provisions began to prevail. A few women of noble rank, and who were gifted with external advantages, were treated with a degree of respect, which they could not expect from these ferocious men; but this was only when they yielded to their brutal desires. Those, on the contrary, who would not submit, experienced the most horrible treatment. Morgan himself set an example to his comrades. The following tale, which delineates that impetuous man in all his colours, deserves to be related.

Among those that were brought in, was a young and most lovely woman, of a mild and modest mien, but who possessed an elevated soul. She was the wife of an opulent merchant, who was then on a journey to Peru, whither his affairs called him. She was flying with her parents, when she was detained by the Free-booters. The moment Morgan beheld her, he destined her for his pleasures. At first she was treated with respect, and separated from the rest of the prisoners; although she with tears besought him to spare her this distinction, more formidable than flattering. He gave her an apartment in his dwelling, together with negroes to attend her, and supplied her from his own table. He even permitted the captive Spanish women to visit her. She was astonished at this treatment; as the Free-booters had been represented to her, as well as to her country-women, as a kind of monsters, equally hideous in their form as their character was odious. It is related by those, who have transmitted to us the particulars of this event, that a Spanish woman exclaimed with surprize, when she beheld them for the first time,—“O Holy Mary! These robbers are in every respect like our Spaniards!”

At first, the heroine of this little romance did not suspect that her charms were the cause of such a delicate and unexpected reception. She shortly, however, learnt the real design of this treatment. Morgan

gave her three days to consider whether she would voluntarily yield to the passion she had inspired. He laid at her feet whatever was most valuable of his booty, either in gold, pearls, or diamonds. But she rejected all his presents; and, after stedfastly refusing the most pressing entreaties, she told him with the greatest firmness,—“ *My life is in your hands; but you shall exercise no dominion over my body until my soul is separated from it.*” As she uttered these words, she drew forth a dagger, which she had concealed, but which was instantly taken from her. The ferocious Morgan, incapable of any sentiment of generosity, a stranger to every kind of virtue, and violently irritated at such an unexpected resistance, caused her clothes to be torn off, and cast her half naked into a dark and fetid cellar, where she was supplied only with the grossest food, and in such small quantities as were scarcely sufficient to prolong her melancholy days. Similar barbarities, yet more revolting, were of so common occurrence among the Free-booters, that the fate of this unfortunate woman would have been altogether unheeded, if her singular beauty had not excited the pity of Morgan’s comrades. Those robbers, less ferocious than their chieftain, blamed his conduct with such vehemence, that in order to exculpate himself, he was obliged to have recourse to an imposition. He pretended that this woman had repaid his kindness by the blackest ingratitude and kept up a secret intelligence with the Spaniards; the design of which was to destroy him and his brave companions in arms. They believed him; their murmurs ceased, and Morgan continued with impunity to torture his unfortunate captive.

In general, however, the Free-booters were sufficiently discontented with their chieftain. Many of them had formed the design of separating from him, and without returning to Chagre, of sailing directly from Panama, and making the South Sea for some time the theatre of their cruises, as they would there

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would have no attack to apprehend. Their intention was, afterwards to intrench themselves in some remote island, there collect booty in silence, and then return to Europe, by the West Indies. In pursuance of this design, they had already secretly collected a considerable supply of provisions, powder, and ammunition, together with a great quantity of arms. They had likewise clandestinely taken a few pieces of cannon out of the ships, and had fixed upon the largest of the prizes for their voyage. This plan was on the eve of being carried into execution, when it was detected by Morgan, who instantly conceived an expedient for frustrating it: he caused the main-mast of the ship in question to be cut down, and set fire to that vessel, as well as to all those which were then in port.

Morgan began now to think seriously of returning. After three weeks' residence at Panama, the Freebooters abandoned that city, or rather the site which it had formerly occupied. The booty, which consisted principally of gold, silver, and jewels (for no other articles were portable), was laden on one hundred and seventy-five beasts of burthen, by the side of which upwards of six hundred prisoners, men, women, and children, inhabitants as well as slaves, were compelled to walk on foot. Ignorant of the place of their destination, and exhausted by hunger and fatigue, these unfortunate persons abandoned themselves to lamentations, which would have excited compassion in the breasts of every one but their ferocious conductors, whom they conjured upon their knees to grant them the favour of returning to the pile of ashes which had been their country. Morgan replied that he would grant them permission, provided they would produce money for their ransom. Such a condition was tantamount to a refusal. The captives, however, waited four days, for the return of some ecclesiastics, whom they had dispatched for the purpose of collecting, if it were possible, the sum required by the insatiable Morgan. As they did not return, the Pirates resumed

their march, violently goading and beating, even to death, such as did not walk with sufficient speed. In this groupe of unfortunates were mothers, carrying infants at their breast; and who, being themselves destitute of sustenance, could not yield a single drop of milk for the support of their offspring; and among them was the lovely woman already noticed, for whose liberty Morgan required a ransom of thirty thousand piasters. To raise that sum, she had sent two monks to a particular spot, whence they returned with the money she had expected. But, instead of employing it in her deliverance, they appropriated it to the redeeming of some other prisoners that were their friends. This atrocious treachery soon became known, and increased the interest which the Freebooters took in the fate of the hapless victim. Morgan himself could not suppress an emotion of pity; he interrogated the other monastics whom he was dragging along, respecting the transaction; which being fully proved, he at length released his beauteous captive, but detained all the monks by way of retaliation, in order to atone for the perfidy of their brethren. They also succeeded in procuring their ransom; and, during their march, many other prisoners had the same good fortune; but the majority, not being able to obtain the sum exacted for their ransom, were obliged to continue their route.

They halted about half-way from Chagre; when every Free-booter was called upon to affirm by oath, that he had not appropriated to himself the slightest portion of the plunder. Notwithstanding the oath was taken, the suspicious Morgan demanded that the clothes and portmanteaus of the whole troop should be minutely examined, one after another. In order to obviate any thing that might be offensive in these commands, he underwent an examination first; and lest any thing should escape the strict search to which he himself had submitted, he stripped off his own boots. From this rigorous inquiry none of his com-



panions in arms durst shrink, although very many of them, particularly the French, murmured loudly with much bitterness at such a proceeding. The execution of the chieftain's orders was committed to the officers, who discharged them with extreme severity. Even the fuses were taken to pieces, lest any precious stones should have been secreted between the iron and the stocks. This excessive mistrust excited the indignation of some Free-booters to such a degree, that they threatened Morgan with death; but the majority of voices was against them, and supported a measure which the common interest seemed to require. In this point of view, every thing was lawful; every thing was commanded on one part, and tolerated on the other. Morgan, who knew how to unite address with imperious arrogance on some occasions, had recommend to the officers to take silently away the concealed articles their inquiries might have discovered, without divulging the transgressors of the law. These manœuvres produced the desired effect, and the general tranquillity was not disturbed.

At length, on the 9th of March 1671, the Free-booters reached Chagre, where they found all things in tolerable order, excepting that most of their wounded comrades had expired for want of proper assistance. From Chagre Morgan sent all his prisoners in a ship to Porto Bello, which city he threatened with total destruction, unless it were redeemed by a very heavy ransom. To this requisition it was answered, that not a single halfpenny would be given; and consequently that he might do whatever he pleased. Morgan's threats were never in vain. He caused all the cannon belonging to the fort to be conveyed on board his own ship, with which he demolished the walls, caused the houses to be burnt, and destroyed every thing which could not possibly be carried away.

The expedition was now terminated; and it only remained to make a division of the booty, which was valued at four hundred and forty-three thousand two

hundred lbs. weight of silver, at the rate of ten piasters per lb. On this occasion Morgan behaved like a shameless robber towards those very comrades who had so quietly submitted to his examination, and who had brought into the common chest every thing they could have appropriated to themselves, to his detriment. He allowed the most flagitious spoliations, causing a vast quantity of precious stones to be set apart for his own use; so that each of his companions in arms, or rather each of his accomplices in all his tortures and cruelties, received, as a reward for so many fatigues and dangers, only to the value of two hundred piasters for his own share.

The Free-booters expressed their displeasure in violent murmurs; they reproached Morgan to his face for not bringing the most precious articles into the general mass, and charged him with applying them to his own use exclusively. The charge was certainly well founded; a great number of articles, which many of the Pirates had brought in, having disappeared at the time of making the division. To these complaints were added others of equal weight; which would, at some moment or other, excite a mutiny: but the faithless chieftain was not at all disposed to grant any satisfaction to the malecontents. He did not, however, wait for the breaking out of the rebellion; and, in order to reconcile every difference, he went secretly on board his own ship, and set sail with three other vessels, whose commanders had been equally dishonest as himself with regard to the booty, and who were in consequence devoted to him. The remainder of the fleet was left behind. Furious at finding themselves so shamefully abandoned, the other Free-booters determined to pursue Morgan, and immediately attack him; but they were completely destitute of provisions, and every other necessary article. They were therefore obliged to disperse themselves into small troops, in order to procure sustenance by pillaging the coast of Costarica, and afterwards resume their route from dif-

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ferent quarters. But this plan was frustrated by a variety of accidents which occurred; nor did they succeed in re-entering Jamaica till a long time had elapsed, and after they had encountered infinite difficulties.

Notwithstanding his fortunate exploits and his laborious exertions, Morgan did not yet think of relinquishing the stormy profession of piracy; and, although he had lately conducted himself so unfairly towards his comrades, still he was certain to meet with others who would co-operate in his future expeditions. He therefore conceived a new project, which entered into all his views, and was to render his successes more solid. He proposed to convey a certain number of men to the island of Saint Catherine, to fortify it carefully, and to render it the residence of the Free-booters. This plan was on the eve of being carried into execution, when an English ship of the line arrived at Jamaica with dispatches, which were a thunderbolt to the Free-booters. The governor of the colony was recalled home to answer for the protection he had given *those bloodthirsty and plundering rascals*; and the officer who was to succeed him was then on board. No sooner had the latter landed, but he published, in every port under the British dominion, the king of England's determination to live for the future in a good understanding with the Spanish monarch and his subjects in America. And a very severe prohibition was therefore issued, forbidding any Free-booter to quit Jamaica with the design of attacking the Spanish possessions.

The English Pirates were at sea when this news arrived: they were unwilling to incur the risque of a return, lest they should lose all their booty, in consequence of this change in the political arrangements. For some time, therefore, they were obliged to wander at the pleasure of the winds, and were fortunate enough to reach the French island of Tortugas, the antient

refuge of the Pirates, and the only place in the West Indian seas which now continued open to them.

From this time Morgan relinquished all his vast projects, and withdrew from this theatre of robbery, on which he had acted so chief a part. To that fierce activity which seemed to be his peculiar element, succeeded a peaceable and tranquil life. He settled at Jamaica, where he was promoted to the most distinguished offices; and enjoyed, in perfect security, those riches which had cost his unfortunate victims so many tears; and so much bloodshed; but which did not produce any remorse whatever in his callous heart.

## CHAP. IX.

**A**s the political relations between France and Spain were altogether different from those subsisting between Spain and England; and further, as France and Holland were involved in a war, the Free-booters, especially the English, who were most numerous, were still enabled boldly to pursue their piracies in defiance of the prohibitions issued by all the European courts, by alternately placing themselves, according to circumstances, under the protection of the different powers. Among their new commanders, Sharp, Harris, and Sawkins, were particularly distinguished; who, agreeably to the example of the Free-booters that had preceded them, captured ships, pillaged insulated cities, effected landings, and even penetrated to a considerable distance into the interior of America.

In the month of April 1671, three hundred and one of these corsairs landed on the coast of Darien; and, after twelve days' march, as toilsome as it was danger-

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rous, sometimes by land, sometimes following, in sixty-eight canoes, the course of rivers, during which they experienced only inconsiderable losses, they arrived at the city of Santa Maria, which was indifferently peopled, but stood in the vicinity of the mountains that were reported to contain the richest gold mines of all America. This expedition was achieved under the guidance of a body of Indians, whose commander assumed the title of king, and who was extremely irritated against the Spaniards. A very indifferent booty was obtained; as three hundred pounds weight of gold (all that was in the city), had, three days prior to the Freebooters' arrival, been conveyed to Panama, which had been reduced to ashes ten years before, but had since that time been rebuilt; and the inhabitants had, in their flight, carried away into the woods every article of value which their city contained. The Pirates in consequence did not continue there more than two days; but they burnt the fort and city, embarked on board thirty-five canoes, and re-descended the river, with the design of paying a second visit to Panama. The self-styled king above mentioned, and some other Indians, through hatred to the Spaniards, consented to accompany them, and even to serve them as guides.

The heavy calamity inflicted on Panama by the hand of Morgan and of his Freebooters, had in some respects been productive of advantage to the inhabitants of that city; the activity of whose commercial speculations had in a short time enabled them to repair their losses. They had rebuilt it four leagues further westward; its new situation was more favourable than the old site, and its port was also much better. There was also an abundant supply of fresh water, in consequence of it being erected at the mouth of Rio Grande, or the great river, which is equally distinguished for its breadth and its importance, and which here discharged its waters into the South Sea, admitting vessels of the greatest burthen to moor un-

der the very walls of the place. The new city was likewise of considerably greater extent, and better fortified than the old one: in the latter, the majority of the houses had been constructed with cedar wood; but now almost all the new dwellings were built of stone, and several stories in height. The Spaniards were also occupied in re-erecting eight churches; though their labours were not completed, because the designs, after which they were to be built, were of a very ancient architecture. The new city was upwards of an English mile and a half in length, and somewhat more than a mile in breadth. A considerable number of poor persons still continued to dwell amongst the ruins of the old city; whose cathedral, together with its capacious dome, had escaped the ravage of fire.

During their passage the Free-booters were exposed to many sufferings. For some days they were totally destitute of fresh water and provisions. Sometimes torrents of rain poured down upon them; at others they were inundated by vast waves, from which nothing could shelter them; sometimes their frail canoes, which exposed them entirely to the weather, being only twenty feet long by one foot and a half in breadth, were violently driven across the agitated waves, and sometimes overwhelmed by them; so that these Pirates lost all their effects; nor was it without very great difficulty that they could save their lives by swimming. The place of re-union of the whole flotilla, which was under Sawkin's orders, was the island of Chepillo, seven marine leagues distant from Panama; whither all the canoes at length arrived, together with two oared vessels that had been captured from the Spaniards. They were, however, outstripped by a ship which crowded all her sails to gain that city, which they were planning how to assault and plunder. All their efforts to overtake her were fruitless; and they could no longer doubt but that the Spaniards were informed of their speedy approach. For the present, they relinquished the hope of surprising Pa-

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nama and taking it by assault ; which hope cannot but appear extravagant, when the weakness of their crews, as well as their means of attack, are considered. They had calculated upon the confusion that must prevail in a city in the act of being re-built, and which they supposed to be in a slow state of progress ; but they soon found that they must abandon not only every idea of plundering the place, but even of attempting an embarkation. They confined their plans, therefore, to that of seizing all the vessels they might meet with in those latitudes, and render themselves masters of the ocean.

Agreeably to this new design they rowed all night, notwithstanding the heavy rain that fell, and before sun-rising they came within sight of Panama. Five large and three small ships, which had been expressly armed and manned in order to check the incursions of the Pirates, were moored near the island of Perico, two marine leagues distant from the city, where several warehouses and various buildings had been erected for commercial purposes. The three small ships of war were ready to set sail, and were under the orders of Don Jacinto de Barahona, high admiral of the South Sea, who was present ; and whose ship was manned by ninety-six Biscayans, who have always been reported to be the best soldiers and seamen of the Spanish monarchy. His crew was wholly composed of volunteers, who were desirous of trying their courage. That of the second vessel, commanded by Don Francisco de Peralta, consisted of sixty-eight negroes ; and on board the third ship, which was under the direction of Don Diego de Caravaxal, there were seventy-five mulattoes.—The commanders of these vessels had already signalized themselves by valiant achievements, and had been formally ordered by their government to grant no quarter to the Free-booters.

The moment the Spaniards discovered the Pirates' canoes, which were navigating at some distance from

another, they put themselves in motion, and sailed directly upon them. Five canoes and one oared vessel were in company, the crews of which consisted only of sixty-eight men, who were extremely debilitated by their laborious rowing all night in tempestuous weather. There was not an opportunity to allow them leisure to recover from their fatigues, and their enemies could not find a more favourable time to attack them. The ship manned by mulattoes commenced the action, and endeavoured unsuccessfully to sink the canoes which were advancing upon her. Five Free-booters only perished by the fire of her artillery. During these occurrences the admiral's ship came up; the battle now became very unequal. But the singular dexterity with which these corsairs fired, together with their extreme intrepidity, compensated for their disadvantages; their shot, being accurately levelled, covered the Spaniards' decks with dead. They particularly aimed at the admiral's frigate, wisely calculating that the event of the engagement would depend upon the fate of that vessel. Every man that was placed at her helm was sure to receive a mortal blow the next minute. The mulattoes made an effort to assist the admiral, but the canoes thwarted her course; and as the violence of the wind rendered it impossible to board her, they made ample amends for this obstacle by pouring in a shower of balls upon the crew. This was crowned with success. In a short time the mulattoes' ship had lost so many men, that she had not hands enough to manage her. Don Diego, her commander, was therefore obliged to flee away with crowded sails. Thus the admiral's ship was left alone: the Free-booters surrounded her with their canoes, amid military shouts, the forerunner of death, and repeatedly exhorted the Biscayans to surrender, promising to grant them their lives. The brave crew obstinately refused all their offers, and the engagement continued with desperate fury. More than two-thirds of the ship's company fell beneath the blows of the

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corsairs, and the majority of the survivors were wounded. At length the admiral himself, as well as the chief of the pilots, were slain. The rest of the crew demanded quarter. The Pirates boarded the ship, and caused their wounded comrades to be speedily conveyed there.

The vessel manned by negroes still remained unsubdued; her commander, Don Francisco de Peralta, had vigorously repulsed the attacks of Captain Sawkins. Thrice had the latter attempted to board, and each time he was obliged to relinquish his efforts. Two canoes came to his assistance; the ship was thus surrounded on every side, and exposed to the discharge of musquetry, the shots of which were all levelled at the deck, where they occasioned dreadful havock. A barrel of powder blew up in the air, and by the violence of its explosion a great number of negroes was cast into the sea, while many others were suffocated by the flames. Peralta nevertheless continued to defend himself. Some other barrels of powder, however, blew up, and threw the negroes into a disorder, of which the Free-booters know how to avail themselves. In a few minutes they were on board; they were shocked at the spectacle they beheld. Torrents of blood flowed along the deck, on which the dead lay in heaps. Nor was there a single individual out of the whole crew, that was not either killed, most severely wounded, or burnt. The black skins of the negroes presented a horrible contrast to those parts of their bodies from which the violent explosion of the powder had torn off the flesh, and laid open their very bones. Only five-and-twenty men were found alive on board the admiral's ship, out of ninety-six, which had been his full complement; and, of these five-and-twenty men, seventeen were most severely wounded, and only five were fully able to handle their arms.

This tremendous engagement continued almost nine hours; and, from the number of the combatants, was the most bloody engagement the Pirates had experi-

enced. Their success was dearly purchased. Twenty-eight only, out of sixty-eight, were perfectly sound, eighteen having been killed and twenty-two wounded. Among the slain was captain Harris, a Kentish man, whose loss justly excited their sincerest regrets. He had received a shot, which crossed both his legs, stripping away the flesh even to the very bones; yet, notwithstanding the blood streamed from his severe wounds, he had sufficient strength to climb up the enemy's ship, on board of which he shortly after expired. Such acts of firmness and of courage would have done honour to heroes fighting in defence of their country, actuated by the noble sentiment of glory. And we cannot but feel a degree of regret in having to admire them in the persons of robbers, instigated only by excessive desire of plunder, or at most, by an inordinate thirst for a tremendous celebrity.

The Free-booters did not sleep in the bosom of their victory. Without loss of time they sailed directly towards the island of Perico, where they seized five other Spanish vessels, of a larger size than those which they had just taken, and met with a very trifling resistance, the crews having been taken out for the purpose of assisting the three ships which only could oppose the Pirates. The Santissima Trinidad, the largest of the five, was totally abandoned, and was burning. The Spaniards had taken the most effectual measures to destroy that vessel, having set her on fire, and bored her in very many places. The Free-booters, however, arrived in time to extinguish the flames, and to stop up the openings which would otherwise have sunk her, and afterwards put all their prisoners on board. This ship was four hundred tons burthen; her cargo consisted of wines, sugar, hides, and soap. The second was laden with iron, the third with sugar, the fourth with flour, and the fifth with ballast.

With this booty the Free-booters were content, and for the present did not undertake any attempt against Panama; where, exclusive of the inhabitants, whom

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they must expect to find under arms, there was a garrison consisting of fourteen hundred regular soldiers. Can it be credited, that, notwithstanding their extreme inferiority in point of numbers, they were desirous of attempting a landing? But this project was frustrated by a dissension which broke out among them. It has already been intimated, that no more than sixty-eight men had been engaged in the last battle. The other canoes, together with the largest of the oared vessels, came up when there was no occasion for their services. Their delay was attributed to one of the captains who had stayed behind, and who was much blamed for his want of courage. With such a charge, whether well or ill-founded, he was much hurt, and separated from the society, together with seventy other men, whom he persuaded to follow his example. They took the smallest of the captured ships, and one of the oared vessels, and directed their course towards the river of Santa Maria. The king of the coast of Darien wished to accompany them. He therefore took leave of the main body of the Free-booters, recommending to them, while they continued in the vicinity of Panama, the total destruction of their common enemies; and left them his son and nephew as pledges of his friendship, and as co-operators in their execution of that undertaking.

Thus Sawkins became commander in chief of these Free-booters, who remained only ten days in the vicinity of Panama, whence they set sail towards the neighbouring island of Taroga, where they could discover every ship which sailed towards that port. Here they were visited by several merchants from Panama; who, forgetting their just resentment against the authors of all the evils their country had suffered, came to treat with them as they would have negotiated with good neighbours. They sold the Pirates whatever the latter wanted, and purchased of them the cargoes of the captured ships, as also the negroes at two hundred piasters per head. They further received a message

from the governor of Panama, who demanded who they were, and what was the reason of their arrival there. Sawkins replied, "that they were Englishmen, who had come to assist the king of Darien, the lawful sovereign of the country; that the Spaniards had seen what they were able to do, and had only to foresee what they were threatened with, after the destruction of all their men of war by a handful of Free-booters; that, if they were desirous of terminating hostilities, the Spaniards must promise no longer to oppress the Indians, but that they would leave them at perfect liberty; that, further, they must pay a contribution,—namely, for every one of their combatants, five hundred piasters, and one thousand for each commanding officer; and that if they did not submit to these conditions, they (the Pirates) would continue to do, and would actually do them (the Spaniards) all the mischief they possibly could."

Amidst all these outrageous actions a small circumstance occurred, which silences our indignation for a moment, and proves that these robbers were not always inaccessible to benevolent sentiments. By the merchants who came from Panama, Sawkins was informed that the bishop of Santa Martha, who had four years before been his prisoner, was then the bishop of Panama. He had conceived much esteem for that prelate, and was desirous to testify his regard for him, by sending him two loaves of sugar, which formed part of the booty. The bishop accepted this present, and acknowledged it by that of a gold ring. But at the same time a second message arrived from the governor, to the following effect:—"That since they were English, he desired to know in whose name they had undertaken their expedition, and to whom he must complain of the heavy injuries, of which they were the authors." Sawkins concisely, but forcibly replied:—"Tell him that all our troops are not yet assembled.—The moment they are all collected, we

"will go to Panama, and will exhibit our full authorities from the mouths of our cannons, and they shall be very distinctly read by the light of the flames."

A considerable number of ships, which were sailing with perfect security in these ordinarily pacific seas, fell into the Pirates' hands; one of which had on board two thousand tons of wine, fifty quintals of gun-powder, and fifty-one thousand piasters in cash, intended for the pay of the garrison of Panama. They learnt that another vessel was expected to arrive from Lima, in the course of ten or twelve days, by the same route, with a cargo of one hundred thousand piasters. Alluring as this prey was, which to all appearance could not possibly escape them, and notwithstanding they had great expectations of obtaining or extorting from the city of Panama very heavy sums by way of capitulation, the Free-booters were nevertheless, from the want of provisions, rendered so averse to any further continuance in those latitudes, that they were deaf to all the representations of their commanders. Sawkins was therefore obliged to abandon Taroga, and set sail towards the isle of Otoca, which abounded with birds, swine, and other articles of provision; but this advantage was dearly purchased. Two canoes were lost in the passage thither, and with them twenty-two men who perished in the sea.

Shortly after the fleet moored in the vicinity of the island of Cayboa, which is celebrated for its pearl fishery. Here Sawkins selected sixty men out of his body, with whom he proposed to attack the city of Puebla Nueva, which was eight marine leagues distant. But the inhabitants were prepared to receive them; the enterprize failed, and cost Sawkins his life.

The death of this chieftain, who was greatly esteemed by the Free-booters, occasioned a new division among them. Part of these Pirates separated from their comrades, and chose captain Sharp for their commander. He immediately convened the whole

body of Free-booters on board the principal ship, and invited them to declare whether they would return, or would continue in the South Sea, and determine upon the execution of their former plan. In case they adopted this second measure, he proposed to pass through the Streights of Magellan, and thus complete the tour round South America; adding to this project, that they might calculate upon booty to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling per man. The majority of the Pirates was privately of opinion for the most speedy return; but this could only be effected by travelling principally by land through countries peopled by savages, and during the rainy season, which in these regions was attended with the greatest inconveniences; generally speaking, this route in fact presented to them a terrifying prospect of fatigue and dangers, without glory, and especially without profit. Sixty-three men, however, notwithstanding they had solemnly promised not to separate from the rest, determined to undertake this voyage or journey; for which they took, by way of guides, the sons of the sovereign of Darien, together with the other Indians, who had joined the cause of the Free-booters. They were presented with a ship, and with abundant supply of provisions, and departed towards the end of 1680.

With regard to Sharp, he set sail with two ships, and the Free-booters who had continued faithful to him, towards the desert island of Gorgona, which is situated in the fourth degree of north latitude, near the coast of Popayan. Here he stayed some time, to repair the damages which his principal ship had sustained. He then pursued his course, passing by the Isle Del Gallo, which lay at the distance of several leagues to the south-west from the former; the coasts of San Jago and San Mateo; and the capes of San Francisco and Passao, which are separated by the equator; thence he sailed near the port of Manta and the island de la Plata, at a very small distance.

from the coast of Guayaquil. That island had received its name from the illustrious navigator *Drake*, who put in there, and divided among his comrades the booty which they had taken from the Spaniards. At this division they did not take the trouble to enumerate the pieces of valuable metal, but filled large pitchers with silver, and distributed them among the parties entitled to shares. At the period when Sharp appeared in these latitudes, viz. towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards still spoke with astonishment of that famous expedition of the English, the results of which had been transmitted to them, though greatly exaggerated by tradition. They pretended that Drake's ship, notwithstanding it was of great size and burthen, could not carry away the prodigious quantity of silver with which she was laden, and that he was obliged to throw a considerable part of it into the sea.

The following was the plan proposed to be carried into execution by Sharp. Under the conduct of an old negro, who was acquainted with the coast, he was to go to Arica, a city of Peru, situate in the 8th degree of southern latitude, and which served as an emporium for all the gold dug out of the mines of Potosi, Chuquisaca, and other mines contained in the neighbouring mountains. From the island de la Plata, whither he had put in, the very opulent city of Guayaquil, containing about five hundred houses, was perceived, and which was the port of the great city of Quito. The Free-booters commenced their operations by seizing several Spanish ships, whence they took out every thing of any value, and afterwards left their prisoners the liberty of going wheresoever they pleased, detaining, however, the nobles and naval officers that fell into their hands, and treating them with much management. They had constantly guarded with them, captain Peralta, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Panama. Wherever the Pirates went, they compelled their prisoners to accompany them, and to

share their fatigues and dangers, and without doubt extorted useful information from them.

In the mean time the weather became bad, and water began to be scarce. Tempests arose; in consequence of which the ships were obliged to keep off the land; and when they did attempt to approach it, the steepness of the shore prevented them from landing. To crown all their misfortunes, the whole country was prepared for the Free-booters' arrival; the canoes were in danger of breaking to pieces against the storm-beaten rocks; and the least inconvenience they had to experience was, that they could not possibly prevent their arms and ammunition from being wetted. At length the scarcity of water increased to such a degree, that every man was allowed only two cups of tea per day. The crews now became very tumultuous and mutinous, and could not, without great difficulty, be managed. Notwithstanding they were only six marine leagues from Arica, it was utterly impracticable for them to effect a landing there. They succeeded, however, in entering the bay of Ylo, which lies to the north-west of Arica, about the 17th degree of southern latitude, where they disembarked, carried by assault, and pillaged the city of that name. But they would not expose themselves by removing from the coast, in order to penetrate further in the country; for they saw that all the neighbouring coasts were occupied by the Spaniards, who had assembled there from the provinces, and whose number continued incessantly to increase.

In this dilemma it only remained for them to avoid an engagement, from which the most fatal consequences must result, and avail themselves of this hastily landing to procure what they most wanted. This was accordingly effected: they filled their barrels with water, collected great supplies of sugar, oil, fruits, and pulse; re-embarked during the night, and immediately set sail. Their design was, next to land at Serena, a city containing eight churches and four



convents, and from which they might form some hopes of procuring some booty. But the plan of these Pirates was in a great measure frustrated; the inhabitants, who had been opportunely informed of it, had fled away with all their valuables. The Free-booters pillaged the little that remained, without experiencing the slightest resistance. The Spaniards, however, apprehensive lest their city should be reduced to ashes, sent a trumpeter to the Pirates, to offer them a ransom. This was soon granted: the sum required was fixed at ninety-five thousand piasters; but the payment of it experienced some delays. The Spaniards, having rallied their courage, flattered themselves with the hope of saving the ransom to which they had agreed, and endeavoured to gain time. With this view they discharged a sluice upon the Free-booters, in order to drown them; the attempt failed altogether, and only provoked their resentment; they instantly set the place on fire. At the same time they encountered a danger of much greater consequence, and which they escaped only by their uncommon activity. The Spaniards had conceived the idea of burning the Pirates' ship: during the night, one of them placed himself on a horse's hide stuffed with straw, and thus floated to the vessel. He forced sulphur and other combustibles into the joints and pieces of the helm, which he then set on fire. The ship was immediately filled with smoke; the helm began to burn; when the Free-booters that had continued on board discovered the cause of the fire, and succeeded in extinguishing the flames before they had made much progress.

This circumstance, which might have hurried on the Free-booters to the commission of new violences, produced an effect altogether contrary. They were apprehensive lest the unfortunate captain Peralta, whose temper became daily more gloomy and morose, and the other prisoners, should in a fit of despair attempt with more success what their fellow countrymen had so unfortunately endeavoured to effect;

they thought it, therefore, the safest way to get rid of such dangerous guests, and set them all at liberty.

From the bay of Ylo the Pirates afterwards sailed to the island of Juan Fernandez, which has since become celebrated from Admiral Anson's voyage. The discontent, which had so long prevailed among them, now burst forth. A complete insurrection ensued : they positively declared to their chieftain, Sharp, that they would no longer obey him, and chose a new commander, of the name of Watling. At length, after wandering in various directions, at a greater or less distance from the South American coasts, they landed at America in the month of June 1680. That city was garrisoned by nine hundred soldiers, who had just been joined by four thousand men sent from Lima, the metropolis of Peru, which is about one hundred and fifty leagues distant from America. From this auxiliary body three hundred men had been selected, and placed in the fort. Watling left part of his men on board his ships, and, taking only ninety-two with him, marched towards the place. The Spaniards advanced to meet him ; and a bloody battle ensued, which terminated in the ordinary manner. Notwithstanding the inferiority of their number, the Free-booters gained the victory, and rushed into the city ; and, notwithstanding the care of preserving and guarding their prisoners demanded all their vigilance, they had the temerity to attack the fort ; but they had reason to repent their audacity. They experienced a most vigorous resistance.

In the mean time, the defeated Spaniards had rallied themselves ; and, penetrating into the town in a body, they attacked the Pirates in the rear, and compelled them to relinquish their attack upon the fort, and sustain a new engagement within the very walls. But the number of their adversaries increased every minute, and they fought with the utmost desperation. The Free-booters had already lost several of their comrades ; among the dead were their new captain, Wat-

ling, and some of their principal seamen. Others had been taken prisoners. The Spaniards breathed nothing but vengeance against the cruel enemies of their nation. The Free-booters were too inferior in numbers to entertain any hope of success. They replaced themselves under the orders of their former commander, Sharp; whom they entreated to superintend their retreat. This measure was the more urgent, as they suffered extremely from thirst, and had not taken any sustenance throughout the day, so that their strength was exhausted. Sharp yielded to their entreaties with much difficulty. Unawed by any danger, he revolted from the very idea of leaving his companions in arms in a state of captivity. His aversion to resuming the command originated neither from the excessive desire of plunder or vain glory, nor from any exalted sentiment of honour; but it was produced solely by that devotion to his brethren, which was to each member of the association the most imperious of all duties. It was, however, absolutely necessary that he should determine to save the remainder of the combatants. At length they retired from the city, though not until they had, by dint of valour, cut a bloody passage through their infuriated enemies. They had lost twenty-eight of their men, slain and taken prisoners; and they carried along with themselves eighteen who were most severely wounded. At the same time they experienced a loss which they could not but feel most sensibly. They were obliged to separate from their three ships' surgeons, who were so intoxicated with wine, that it was impossible to bring them to their assistance.

During their retreat they were pursued by the Spaniards into the open country; when, being free in their movements, they formed themselves into a body, and took such defensive measures as disposed the enemy by no means to renew the engagement. Towards the approach of night they regained their ships, and set sail for the gulph of Nicoya. Here their body

experienced a fresh diminution; forty-seven men separating themselves from it, in order to disembark, and attempt by land-journeys to reach the shores of the opposite sea. The remainder of their troop continued to exercise their piracies; but, before they took any further measures, they, in order to secure success to their future enterprizes, solemnly engaged to remain united together. Shortly after they captured a Spanish ship that was sailing towards Panama, and which, beside a vast quantity of merchandize, also contained thirty thousand piasters. A second vessel, of greater value, though less rich in cash, afterwards fell into their hands. This prize satisfied one of their ruling tastes: they found on board six hundred and twenty tons of wine and brandy. At first, her crew, which consisted of forty men, were disposed to defend the ship; but, in order to disqualify her for battle, the Free-booters had recourse to a terrible expedient, which, with their dexterity, never failed to be effectual. They pointed their shot against the officers; the captain and pilot were killed, and the remainder instantly surrendered. The prisoners were immediately set at liberty by the Pirates, whom they informed, that such of their comrades as had quitted them, were obliged to force their way, arms in hand, across the country they had traversed; and that the viceroy of Peru had beheaded the Spanish admiral, Ponce, for not having found out and exterminated the Free-booters during their residence in the island of Gorgona.

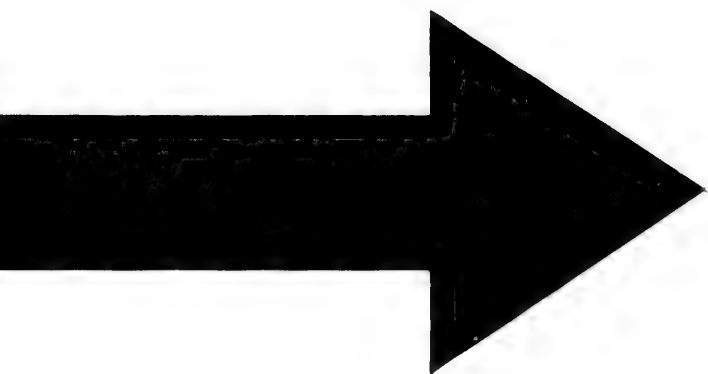
Such of the Free-booters as continued their cruises were now hopeless of obtaining rich prizes, by effecting disembarcations on the Spanish dominions. They were too inferior in point of numbers, and the whole coast was strictly guarded. It was therefore unanimously agreed to relinquish all further attempts; and, after crossing the Streights of Magellan, to sail either for England, or towards the English islands in the West Indies.

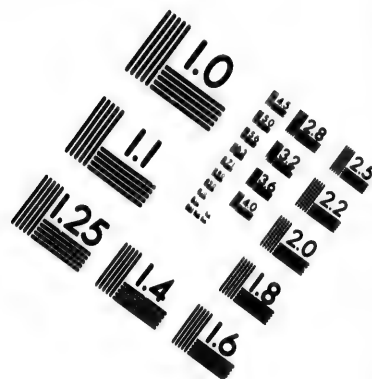
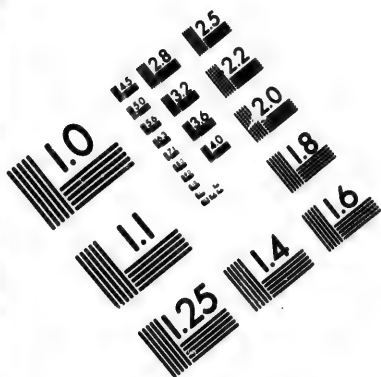
This voyage was most unfortunate. The Pirates

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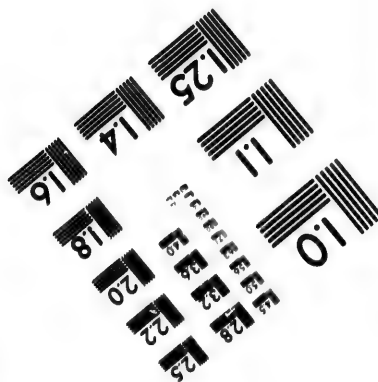
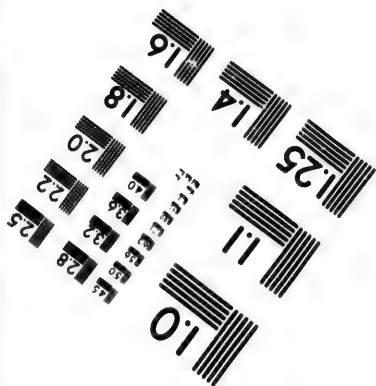
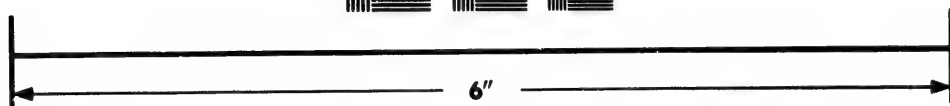
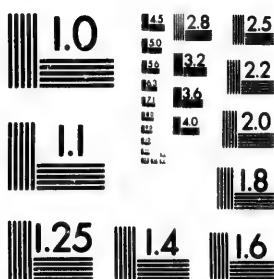
had to contend with the most violent tempests; and, not being able to find the entrance of the Streights, they were driven towards the pole into unknown seas, where they were every moment apprehensive of being dashed against the rocks, or of foundering on sandbanks. In this perilous situation their sole consolation consisted in the sight of their rich booty, in contemplating and dividing which they spent their time. At first they shared among themselves the gold and silver, both in cash and in jewels, and other portable articles that were of great value. The division of the remainder was reserved to a more happy moment. The portion of each man, consisting of gold, silver, jewels, and other articles, was, from this time, valued at five hundred and forty-eight piasters (about £100). But this small fortune, which they enjoyed only in expectancy, could not relieve or remedy the extreme want which they experienced in other respects. Being altogether destitute of fresh meat, they were reduced to the most wretched food. One hog yet remained on board, which was kept for some months for a festival; at length it was eaten on Christmas-day 1680, and was indeed a repast, after such long privations. Ennui often obliged these robbers to seek for some amusement in gaming, in which several of them lost the whole of what they had acquired with such infinite trouble and dangers. At length, towards the close of January 1681, they arrived, to their great satisfaction, in the latitudes of Barbadoes. They durst not, however, venture to land immediately on that island, as an English frigate was moored in its port, and they were apprehensive of being detained as corsairs who had been cruising without letters of marque, and consequently of being treated as Pirates. They determined therefore to sail towards Antigua, whither a canoe was dispatched to purchase provisions. At the same time they requested permission of the governor that they might land; but this was refused, and they only obtained what was abse-







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lutely necessary for them. Thus it became impracticable to dispose of their ship, as well as of any part of their effects, whether of greater or of less value. Such of them as had lost their all in gaming, had to congratulate themselves on these adverse occurrences; to them was given up the ship, with suitable provisions, in order that they might go in quest of other adventures. The remainder, who constituted by far the greatest number, separated from their comrades that were forced again to seek their fortunes, and embarked as passengers for England, where they arrived after a prosperous passage.

## CHAP. X.

**T**HE preceding chapters have sufficiently evinced, that, although the Free-booters were regulated by the same principles, the same manners, and the same object, and were subjected to the same laws, yet they did not constitute an indissoluble association, and their plans were destitute of unity; that every one of their bodies was formed by chance, and acted on its own account according to circumstances. This defect, together with the absence of a chieftain to preside over the whole, and the diversity of characters arising from the various nations that composed the Brethren of the Coast,—all these accumulated causes prevented them from having a decided influence over the destinies of the West Indies. What prodigious effects might not have been produced by these men, animated by such courage, and possessing such patience in supporting fatigue and danger, together with all their military qualities, and the uniform success that distinguished

their expeditions,—if a man of genius and talents had served as a point of re-union for them,—had systematically conducted their enterprizes,—and out of these scattered troops, who were actuated by such various motives of caprice, had formed a compact and organized body, of which he himself was the soul! This alone was wanting. Consequently their history can be little else than a collection of detached facts, having no mutual support or dependency, and often no connection whatever, and each of which is more or less interesting, according to the grand object expected to be derived from it, though sometimes according to the character and reputation of the chieftain who at the time had direction of the whole. For, it must be acknowledged, these chieftains were men who, notwithstanding their untoward conduct, possessed those rare qualities which cannot but excite the attention of every reflecting and feeling reader, and extort from him a kind of interest, similar to that we experience at the performance of a tragedy, in which we expect the final triumph of justice;—a hope this, which, it must be confessed, is but too often frustrated in the history of the Free-booters.

The want of connection, already adverted to, necessarily prevents the narrator from adhering to strict chronological order; it will be allowed us a sufficient motive,—it will at least excuse our referring to the close of this history, the relation of a fact which deserves to be given here, and which succeeds immediately to those we have just detailed, of an extraordinary, and almost marvellous enterprize, which forming the conclusion of the present volume, will render it more interesting than if we had been rigidly bound by chronological arrangement. It may also be added, that the brilliant epocha of the Free-booters was terminated by this romantic expedition.

By degrees, the republic of the Free-booters lost the most prominent features of their character, although that name had been assumed by a vast number of

semi-savages, who bore scarcely any resemblance to the original Brethren of the Coast, of whose services the French and English governors of St. Domingo had availed themselves during their national disputes. Thus, in 1689, Cussey, the French governor of St. Domingo, with the assistance of his self-styled Free-booters, as well as of the real combatants of his own nation, undertook an expedition against San Yago de Caballeros, a city belonging to the Spanish part of St. Domingo, which was more particularly called Hispaniola. It stood on a peninsula formed by the river Yago or Yagui; and, though very strongly situated, yet it was taken by a body of one thousand men, and, agreeably to the manner of the original Free-booters, was pillaged and burnt. Violences like these, authorized by a commander of royal appointment, were shortly after revenged. A Spanish fleet arrived at St. Domingo, and landed two thousand six hundred men, who were joined by seven hundred more, that constituted part of the troop stationed in the island. To this force the French could oppose only one thousand men, including their Free-booters. They endeavoured, therefore, to keep on the defensive, but could not avoid a most bloody engagement, in which the Spaniards obtained a complete victory, and which cost Cussey his life.

In these and in similar enterprizes, the might not as Free-booters for plunder and without acknowledging any authority, but under the orders and for the interests of powers, and for this purpose were employed as bodies of vagabonds, who, notwithstanding their dependent situation, gloried in bearing the antient name of the society,—that name which had for a long time been so formidable, and of which, as it still continued to inspire a kind of terror, the European commanders in America gladly authorized the preservation. But this second race of Free-booters were only instruments of war, subject to the orders of the European courts. They were embarked on board royal ships,

and were, on every occasion, employed by the governors of the islands as soldiers, in the operations of powers in the West Indies. These military occurrences, however, would not have a place in the present history, were it not that the soldiers, known under the name of Free-booters, conspicuously distinguished themselves among the combatants.

In 1697, the French admiral Baron de Pointis fitted out an expedition against Carthagena, consisting of a squadron of seventeen ships of war, to which were added eight others, manned by Free-booters; who were commanded not by a chieftain selected from among themselves, but by Du Casse, the governor for the king of France. Three vessels, whose crews were composed wholly of colonists, and two others in which negroes only were employed, likewise formed part of this expedition; which, altogether, formed a small army of five thousand four hundred men. On this occasion the Free-booters displayed their accustomed valour, and carried by assault the very strongly fortified castle of Bocachica. The other forts were successively taken; and after a siege of three weeks, during which the Spaniards made a very courageous defence, which cost the French a great number of their men, the city of Carthagena surrendered by capitulation.

On the first appearance of the French squadron, all the opulent women betook themselves to flight, together with their valuable effects, which were sent, on the backs of one hundred and twenty-eight mules, forty leagues into the interior of the country. There was, notwithstanding, an immense booty still left in Carthagena, consisting of the precious metals, either in a wrought state or in cash, of jewels, and portable articles of merchandize. The whole was estimated at forty millions of livres (about two millions sterling), exclusive of what the French officers clandestinely appropriated to their own use; each of whom, beside

his share of the general plunder, embarked to the value of two hundred thousand piasters (about £31,000), the produce of his individual pillage. Further, there were many other things, which were not included in the profits of the booty; such were, in particular, several hundred cannon, the best of which, ninety-six in number, were sent on board the ships.

The conquerors abandoned themselves to the most horrid excesses; and notwithstanding the majority were soldiers belonging to a sovereign, and commanded by officers likewise appointed by a king, yet they did not behave with less ferocity than the Free-booters. There were no crimes which they scrupled to commit, no horrors in which they did not indulge themselves. The capitulation was violated; the churches were profaned; the relics, objects of veneration to the faithful, were torn from their shrines, and trodden under foot; the monks were tortured; the young women were stripped naked, and violated on the very altars. Humanity had also to experience outrages against it. There was a great number of sick people in the hospital: under the pretext of avoiding the contagion of the disorder, with which they were afflicted, they were deprived of all assistance, and given up to the despair arising from the most cruel abandonment.

At first, the French designed to settle themselves at Carthage, and there establish a commerce, which might have proved exceedingly advantageous; but a violent epidemic distemper suddenly broke out among them, and carried off so many men, both soldiers and seamen, that apprehensions were entertained lest there should not be a sufficient number of mariners to reconduct the ships to Europe. In consequence of this catastrophe, Pointis determined on a speedy re-embarkation, which took place four weeks after the siege; but before that was completed, they crowned the ravages they had just committed, by blowing up the forts and by destroying every establishment belonging to commerce and navigation.

The Free-booters had essentially contributed to the capture of Carthagena; but, as was always the case, when their services became useless, they were speedily forgotten, and Pointis himself was the first to set the example of foul proceedings against them. Under the pretext that the enemies were on their march, he removed the Free-booters from the city; in fact, this was done only that the French might dispose of their booty without interruption. The Free-booters returned without having met a single armed man; but, in order to deceive them, the French exclaimed on their return, how useless the researches had proved, which had been made in the houses during their absence: they were even refused admittance into the place. Their eyes were now opened; they became furious, in consequence of being thus trifled with. They would have attacked the royal troops which were stationed at the gates, and have employed forcible measures to compel them to open them. Pointis, however, had sufficient prudence to appease this storm, and revoked the prohibition against their entering the city. He did more; and in order to gain them over if possible, he appointed to the command of Carthagena, the French governor of St. Domingo, Du Casse, under whose orders they were, and who was greatly beloved by them. In this capacity Du Casse demanded an account of the sums that had been recovered; which being refused by Pointis, a violent dispute arose between the two chieftains. Du Casse resigned his command, and required that all the Free-booters, colonists, and negroes, who had been brought from St. Domingo, should without delay be given up to him; declaring that, in case of a denial, he would make the general responsible for all the injuries the colony might sustain, in consequence of the prolonged absence of its strength. Terrified at this menace, and too happy in ridding himself of these turbulent men, of whose services he had no longer any occasion for, Pointis consented to the required departure. He only

desired that he might keep near his person a certain number of negroes, and the fourth part of the Free-booters, whom he hoped to manage with more facility.

In the mean time Du Casse beheld, with regret, his men labouring under every kind of evils. Not only were they devoured by the epidemic, but the total want of assistance for the sick and wounded, together with want of sustenance, caused the death of many. The food of such as remained in health, consisted of nothing but the flesh of horses, dogs, and cats. The displeasure of Du Casse and of his Free-booters continued nevertheless to subsist; they would not break forth till the booty was shared. At length it was deposited in chests for the purpose of being embarked; on which subject a violent myrmur arose among the members of the society, who announced their determination to oppose, even by force, the shipping of the plunder. At the repeatedly pressing requests of Du Casse, they at length consented to it, but refused to continue the further demolition of the fort, until a division of the booty had been made. As soon as the whole was on board, Pointis, who had hitherto appeared tractable, no longer kept any measures whatever. He ordered the spoil to be divided according to his caprice; and in this division the Free-booters were treated as common sailors. In stead of receiving some *millions*, which they had expected from the estimate that had been made, they had only forty thousand piasters (7 or 8,000*l.*). This was indeed wounding their pride by contempt, and deceiving their cupidity by injustice. They became furious: recollecting their antient name and independence, they refused with disdain the portion of plunder offered to them, and determined to attack the admiral-commandant's ship, which was sailing alone. Du Casse left no measures untried, in order to dissuade them; all his efforts were useless. They were about to carry their rash project into execution,—and perhaps with success,—when



one of them suddenly exclaimed:—"Brethren, we  
"wrong ourselves in laying hold of this dog.—He has  
"taken nothing from us.—He has left our share at  
"Carthagera.—Thence we must go and fetch it."

This proposal was received with enthusiasm. The  
gloom that had hitherto prevailed amongst them, was  
succeeded by the most tranquil serenity. Braving the  
contagion and scarcity which they had just escaped,  
they set sail towards Carthagera. Du Casse, who was  
on board a royal frigate, and who was violently irri-  
tated with this new scheme, addressed Pointis, whom he  
pressed instantly to adopt some measures to prevent  
its execution. But the admiral had that day been  
taken ill, and had transferred the command to general  
de Levi, who replied to the pressing instances of Du  
Casse, that they must hang all these robbers, but that  
he certainly could not run after them. Du Casse had  
now no other resource left, but to try the effect of an  
order, accompanied by entreaties in writing. He there-  
fore wrote to them:—"That they gave offence to the  
"greatest sovereign in the world, who had no concern  
"in the injustice they had experienced from one of  
"his officers; that he would himself carry their com-  
"plaints to the foot of the throne, where they would  
"infallibly receive justice; but they must relinquish  
"their design on Carthagera: if, however, they per-  
"sisted in their determination to carry it into execu-  
"tion, they must consider that they would deliver to  
"a scaffold, him, their innocent commander, and who  
"was so attached to their interests."

These entreaties might have moved men less exasper-  
ated, and who were not Free-booters; but with these  
they produced no effect whatever. They continued  
their voyage, and arrived at Carthagera, where their  
appearance excited the most profound terror and con-  
fusion among the inhabitants, who had not yet re-  
covered themselves. The very name of these robbers,  
the bare idea that they would give themselves up to  
every excess, inspired them with a mortal fear. They

took no defensive steps, and were subdued the moment they were attacked. The Free-booters confined all the men in the church, whither deputies were sent, who addressed their captives in the following terms :—

“ We are very well aware, that you consider us as faithless, without laws, without religion ; as creatures that are rather devils than men. During our residence near your gates and within your walls, you have given us offensive proofs of these dispositions, and of the horror with which we have inspired you. We are now here, arms in hand, and in a situation to revenge ourselves if we would ; and you doubtless expect on our part the most cruel treatment. The paleness of your countenances sufficiently indicates your terror ; and your consciences must tell you, that you have deserved all our resentment. We wish to undeceive you, and evince to you, that the infamous epithets you have bestowed on us, belong not to us, but to the general under whose orders you saw us fight. That traitor has deceived us ; for, though he was indebted to our valour alone for the conquest of your city, he has, contrary to his promises, refused to share with us the advantages he thence derived. This has compelled us to visit you again : we are sorry for it ; but we have no other resource. Nevertheless, we flatter ourselves, that you will be satisfied with our moderation, and with a faithful performance of our word. We promise to quit your city without causing the least disorder, the moment you shall have paid us five millions. *We demand no more.* But, if you refuse an offer so just as this, you must expect every calamity imaginable, which you will have to attribute only to yourselves and to general Pointis, on whose memory you are at perfect liberty to accumulate every kind of imprecations.”

To men of this temper the inhabitants of Carthage well knew they could make no other reply, than payment of the sum required. A monk, therefore, in-

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stantly ascended the pulpit, and conjured his auditors to give all the gold, silver, and precious stones they had left, in order to extricate themselves from their horrid situation. In general, however, men will rather renounce the hope of preserving their lives than that of saving their treasures: this remark was fully verified by the collection made after the exhortation, the amount of which proved much inferior to the sum demanded by the Free-booters. It was transmitted to them with the assurance that it was all the wretched inhabitants of Carthage had remaining, since the first pillage of their city. This protestation by no means persuaded the Free-booters; who, faithful to their menaces, commenced the plundering of the city a second time. They dug into the most secret corners of the houses, as well as into the churches, and even into the tombs; and, as they found but little, they put the principal inhabitants to the torture, in order that they might be constrained to discover where they had concealed their effects of any value. This cruel measure also was without success. Those barbarians were unwilling to kill them, but they were more averse to retiring without booty. They therefore conceived a stratagem. They caused two of the most considerable inhabitants to come before them, whom they threatened with death; and as this menace extorted no confession from them, they pretended to conduct them to torture, amid the groans and tears of their fellow-citizens; but the Pirates contented themselves with confining them in a very remote place. Shortly after some discharges of musquetry were heard, which the Free-booters accounted for, according to the opinion they wished to have believed. All the other distinguished inhabitants were successively taken away, and told that the same fate awaited them, if they persisted in excusing themselves on account of their ignorance. The tremendous sentence was likewise pronounced in the church before all the prisoners, and at length produced the expected effect. On the same day upwards

of one million of piasters were collected; which the Free-booters were convinced was the last possible effort. They put a stop to their violent proceedings, and continued three days longer at Carthagea; whence they embarked one hundred and twenty female negro slaves, and set sail with a booty, of which each man's share, in money and valuables, amounted to more than thirty thousand piasters (nearly £3000 sterling.)

Previous to their departure, the inhabitants of Carthagea beheld, with surprize mingled with terror, an instance of the manner in which justice was administered among the Pirates.—Two of them had infringed a prohibition, by which every kind of violence was severely prohibited. Some young girls had been victims to their brutality. Their parents ventured to complain, invoking the formal promise the Free-booters had given them of abstaining from all violence. These complaints were received; the guilty were arrested, tried by a council of war, which their comrades hastily formed, and were condemned to be shot. In vain did the families, whom they had violated, intercede in their behalf. The sentence was instantly executed.

The Pirates' flotilla consisted of nine sail. Scarcely had it left Carthagea when it fell in with an English squadron. Each ship, regardless of the fate of the rest, thought only of its own safety. The two largest, which were laden with upwards of one million of piasters, were taken by the English after a most valiant defence. A third took fire, and foundered on the coasts of St. Domingo, but her crew was saved, together with the money on board. A fourth was by the tempest cast on the very shore of Carthagea, and thus afforded some kind of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants who had been so recently plundered. The whole crew of the wrecked vessel fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who spared the lives of the Free-booters, and confined themselves to the employment of their labour in repairing those fortifications which

they had so lately destroyed. The other five ships fortunately arrived at St. Domingo, with their rich cargoes.

The French government were exceedingly displeased with the transactions at Carthagera. Nevertheless, as far as respected the division of the booty, they declared in favour of the Free-booters and colonists against admiral Pointis, who had defrauded them of their due proportions, and one million four hundred thousand livres were ordered to be paid them; but this order was never carried into execution.

Louis XIV. was then arrived at that period of his life, in which his brilliant reign was dishonoured by his bigotry. He forgave himself the misery in which his dissipation had involved his subjects; the wars with which his ambition had desolated Europe; and the persecutions he had excited against those unfortunate persons who did not adhere to his creed. He devoted his attention to the reparation of disorders of very considerably less moment. His indignation was aroused, on learning that the French had despoiled the churches of Carthagera of their riches and their ornaments, and that men in his service should have been permitted to commit such a profanation. He therefore ordered the spoils of the churches to be separated from the rest of the booty, and dispatched a vessel for the express purpose of re-conveying them to Carthagera.

There were still some other detached bodies of bold corsairs; who, under the name of Free-booters, continued to cruise,—no longer in the West Indies, where they found neither protection nor independence, but in remote seas where they had no place of refuge. Among these hardy adventurers, a Frenchman, named Montauban, distinguished himself; who, in 1695, made the coasts of Guinea the theatre of his piracies, and who wrote with his own hand, in a few pages, an account of *his exploits*. An English guard-ship, that was moored near Angola, was desirous of inflicting

justice on these Pirates, and accordingly attacked them; but they defended themselves with such fury, that the assailants, who had calculated upon an easy victory, were taken by boarding. The English commander was in despair at such an unexpected event; and, thinking he ought not to survive his disgrace, he blew up his own ship into the air. That belonging to the Pirates also blew up at the same time: the whole of the English crew perished; Montauban and fifteen only of his men escaped this terrible danger. They fell alive into the sea, and soon were able to resume their cruises; but, for want of an asylum in the neighbouring latitudes, their robberies could not long continue; and the ocean was delivered from this scourge.

Hostilities were also carried on between bodies of Free-booters, who depended entirely on the French and English governors; and who had only the name, together with part of the ferocious manners, of those formidable Pirates. There were likewise others who undertook cruises on their own account. The antient association no longer subsisted, whose members were bound by a kind of fraternity, and who in certain respects made a common cause. The French Pirates, who styled themselves Free-booters, made different descents upon, and pillaged the very coasts of Jamaica, where the primitive society had so long found an asylum and protection. Such, in particular, was the case of a celebrated corsair, or rather of a real Pirate, Daviot, who landed on those coasts in 1692, with two hundred and ninety Free-booters. But after the landing was effected, one hundred and thirty-five of these robbers were separated from their ships, and wandered into the interior of the island, having to contend incessantly with the inhabitants, among whom were found some of the antient Free-booters, and apprehending every moment that they must yield to the superior force of their adversaries. They had already lost twenty of their men, but in return had taken forty prisoners; still, however, their number amounted

to one hundred and fifteen, when an occurrence as strange as it was terrifying suddenly changed the scene.

This was one of the most terrible earthquakes which has ever been mentioned in the annals of the world. The shocks were so awful that it was thought the whole island was about to be swallowed up in the sea, while the air was altogether calm, and the sky uncommonly serene. The moment the Free-booters perceived the ground shake beneath their feet, they ran with all speed possible towards the shore, and threw themselves into the canoes that first offered to them. Such, however, was the precipitation and disorder, with which this embarkation was conducted, that many of the canoes were overladen and sunk, and the Pirates could with difficulty regain the shore. During these transactions the sea was most violently agitated, dashed to a distance from the coasts those canoes that still had men on board them, inundated the whole country, and drowned a great number of these Free-booters. The rest climbed up the most lofty trees, and continued five hours clinging to the branches, until the earthquake ceased and the sea re-entered its antient limits.

The ravages occasioned throughout the island by this scourge are indescribable; nearly eleven thousand men perished by it. Port Royal was almost entirely swallowed up; great part of the fort fell down, and the walls tumbled into the sea. A considerable number of ships of various burthens that were in the port was dashed to pieces, as likewise were several others that drove from their anchors; nor did a single vessel escape without receiving great injury. The city, which was situated two French leagues up the country, became a mass of ruins. Whole mountains fell down into the vallies and filled them; while others divided into two parts, and formed new precipices. By these horrible phenomena all communications were cut off from the inhabitant; nor could they pass from

one place to another, without hazarding their lives by leaping over tremendous cavities.

In consequence of this catastrophe the Free-booters lost all their arms, together with thirty-five of their men. Several prisoners perished in the waves, but such as could continue in the canoes preserved themselves. These, however, were not the only persons saved; after various accidents the rest of the Pirates succeeded in escaping this host of dangers to which the island of Jamaica had exposed them.

Towards the close of the 17th century a total revolution took place among the Free-booters, so that (as already intimated) nothing remained of them but the name. Their original independence was now forgotten, and with it disappeared that degree of consideration in which they had been held by different nations, together with the other traits that characterized their society. Many of them abandoned themselves to excesses, and committed crimes for which they were obliged to flee; others dispersed themselves, and so far renounced every sentiment of regard for their country, that whole bodies of "Brethren of the Coast" passed over to Jamaica, and there fought against their countrymen. The very name of Free-booters acquired another acceptation, being assumed by all those lawless adventurers, those vagabonds of every nation, who were employed by belligerent powers as Pirates in the West Indies. Not only had Jamaica, Saint Domingo, and Tortugas their self-styled Free-booters; they were likewise found in Martinico, and in other islands. Thus the Spaniards, after expelling the French Buccaneers from St. Domingo, formed new bodies of Buccaneers of their own nation, for the purpose of employing them in the chase, and preparing the hides of the slaughtered cattle. By this expedient they hoped to supply the place of those whom they had exterminated; but, for this purpose, it was not sufficient to give them the same name, and the same profession. On the contrary, a very wide difference sub-



sisted between this modern corporation and the antient association of hunters; and the sameness of names only rendered the contrast the more striking. For these Spanish Buccaneers were, by their idleness, total want of principles, of liberty, and independence, as much distinguished from the antient, active, industrious, and valiant French Buccaneers, as the modern Free-booters, — especially those of Martinico, — were from the primitive Free-booters of St. Domingo, who had acquired such celebrity by their indefatigable ardour, and undaunted courage.

The Free-booters appeared for the last time in the war that was carried on at the commencement of the 18th century, respecting the Spanish succession; when bodies of men were enrolled for expeditions in the West Indies, both at sea and on shore, and formed into a kind of light troops; wretchedly organized and of little value. To them was given the name of Free-booters, notwithstanding the vast difference between them and the antient Free-booters; and this species of usurpation, under the sanction of custom, continued long after the total extinction of the primitive society.

## CHAP. XI.

THE political situation of Europe had experienced a succession of great changes; and, although peace was not entirely re-established in that ruling part of the world, the different courts had notwithstanding adopted other principles and new systems. The protection which the Free-booters had met with in the West India islands, and which had already been with-

drawn from them by England, at length also ceased on the part of France; and from this time likewise ceased those bold expeditions of the Free-booters, properly so called, in the American latitudes. But it was no easy task to extinguish their spirit of independence, thirst of booty, and their inclination for fool-hardy enterprizes; this revolution indeed proved peculiarly difficult to effect among the English seamen, who, in consequence of peace being concluded in Europe, had no longer any enemies to engage at sea. It now became impossible any longer to make use of a pretext, of which the English and French had till then availed themselves, to carry havock amongst the hostile nations, by appearing to act in the name, and for the advantage of their respective kings and countries. They therefore became real Pirates, or rather robbers; and, as they could no longer meet with protection or safety in the West Indies, they turned their attention towards the South Sea.

On this sea, it was a very rare occurrence even for Spanish ships of war to appear; those belonging to other nations had never been seen there; the Free-booters were hitherto utterly unknown; and the vessels which frequented the coasts of Mexico and Peru had hitherto been accustomed to pursue their navigation unmolested: on all these accounts, therefore, the South Sea had always been very attractive to these adventurers. In fact, the very numerous and important ports of Spanish America, that presented themselves along the coast from Chili to California, afforded them a certain prospect of a booty as rich as it was easy to acquire. The principal of these ports, commencing with the south, were Arica, Sagna, Nasca, Pisca, Pachacama, also termed Ciudad de los Reyes, and the harbour of Callas, where the king's ships that escorted the fleet to Peru were moored; afterwards, the cities of Truxillo, Païta, Queaquilla or Guayaquil, Barbacoa, Panama, Realengo, Te-coantepequa, Acapulco, and other considerable places

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that lay along the shore. The presumed opulence of all these cities, together with the exaggerated ideas formed respecting the riches of Lima, Mexico, and of the other large and considerable cities up the country; the ridiculous persuasion that prevailed, of all these districts containing *open mines* of gold and silver, for which they had only to dig,—all these circumstances concurred to render the South Sea the most attractive object of the Free-booters' avaricious speculations. They had already acquired some knowledge of it by their expeditions to Panama, which, however, had not been attended with all the success expected. Towards the close of 1684, several bodies of them, French and Dutch, who were dispersed in various islands, without acting in concert, but who were excited at the same time by a kind of instinct, and by the considerations above specified, determined to attempt a new enterprize into the South Sea.

In this expedition there were upward of two thousand men ready to concur; but, as usual, they had not agreed on a common plan. Chance alone had collected them into bodies of greater or less force; and chance alone was to decide their march, and almost their success.

Eight hundred English, who were on board different ships, set sail from Jamaica, with the design of entering the South Sea by the Straights of Magellan. Another body, consisting of eight hundred English, went in canoes to the Gulf of Araba, whence they travelled by land to the river Chica, to the mouth of which they descended into the South Sea, where the town of Boca del Chica was situated. The same route was soon after followed by four hundred and thirty Frenchmen, under the command of their chieftains, Grogner, l'Ecuier, and the Picard, who were followed by several small bodies of both nations, embarked in ships and small barks. But the greater part of these adventurers sailed in two small bodies on board their vessels, which coasted close along the

shore, and landed as often as they possibly could, in order to procure themselves necessaries, but they were massacred by the Indians. They perished before they reached their destined place. Two hundred men also embarked under the direction of captain Sage, with the view of penetrating, as the English designed, into the South Sea, through the Streights of Magellan.

The English, however, were by far the most numerous in these latitudes, and for a long time prevailed there; with them were associated a great number of French, and some Dutchmen; and by this association were achieved adventures still more marvellous than those which have been related in the preceding pages.

The facts we now are about to detail were transmitted to us by a French gentleman, called Ravenneau de Lussan, who had very actively co-operated in the piracies of the Free-booters in the South Sea, and had shared in all their fortunes. He appears to have been a man not altogether uncultivated; and his narrative is confirmed by those of some other eye-witnesses, both French and English, who likewise were parties in these expeditions.

In the month of March 1685, a flotilla of Free-booters, consisting of ten ships with eleven hundred men on board, and which sailed in company together, entered the South Sea, agreeably to the plan above detailed. It comprized two frigates, one of thirty-six, and the other of sixteen cannon; five small vessels equipped for war, but destitute of artillery, and three barks. Of these embarcations, nine were commanded by Englishmen, and one only by a Frenchman: the whole ten had been captured from the Spaniards.

Some other bodies of Free-booters joined this flotilla; they had embarked on board pirogues and canoes, for such a distant voyage, and had made a passage replete with dangers into the South Sea, which they scoured, in order to meet the flotilla. One of these bodies was commanded by captain Grogner. An Englishman, of

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the name of David, was appointed commander in chief of all these united forces.

The Free-booters were already in the vicinity of the Peruvian shores, when they took a Spanish ship; and from the prisoners that fell into their hands, they learnt that the viceroy of Peru had issued orders for all merchant ships to continue in port, and had at the same time announced that a Spanish squadron would speedily arrive to expel the corsairs from these seas, of whose approach information had been received.

In the mean time they appeared before Panama; there was little hope of speedy and effective assistance; and the appearance of their formidable Pirates, by exciting cruel recollections, produced inexpressible consternation in that city. The Free-booters cruised at a small distance from it, as the shallows prevented them from appearing closely to it. They cast anchor near the island of Tavoga, in order to wait for the Spanish squadron, over which they must necessarily triumph before they could undertake any enterprize with success.

After they had continued thus moored for four weeks, they at length perceived the Spanish fleet on the 5th of June 1685, consisting of seven ships of war; fitted out for the express purpose of chasing and extirpating them, and which bore right down upon them. Two of the Spanish vessels were line-of-battle ships, the largest mounting sixty-six guns. Not doubting for a moment of obtaining victory, the Free-booters were desirous of an engagement; the consequences of which were to secure them an entire freedom in their favour. The wind was full against them, the sea was much agitated, and they were utterly unacquainted both with the shallows and with the coasts near which they then were. Their forces also were too inferior to those of the enemy; they could only oppose eight vessels destitute of cannon, to ships of war; and their two small vessels that did carry guns, were too weak to contend, without great disadvantage, against the two Spanish line-of-battle ships.

This engagement therefore was one of the most rash adventures of which their annals make mention, and to them could not but be attended with the most unfortunate consequences. They were thus involved in a very critical situation, from which their valour alone could extricate them. One of their ships was in great distress, being on every side surrounded by the Spaniards. The other Free-booters, who were near them, might have escaped with their ships; but they unanimously swore to die rather than abandon to the enemy the very smallest of their embarcations; or at all events, if any one should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they should conquer only its wreck, and should not find a single man on board. Contrary to every appearance, this oath was accomplished; so that this battle, though unsuccessful, did them as much honour as a victory. But of their flotilla they lost only one bark, containing prisoners chiefly, and which was so severely treated by the Spanish bullets, that she was at the point of sinking, when the crew had time to effect their escape. Delivered by this circumstance, and knowing the extreme danger that threatened the vessel in which they were, the prisoners found themselves between a speedy death and a prompt deliverance; without hesitation, therefore, they made what haste they could towards their countrymen, to throw themselves into their arms; but the Spanish admiral, not knowing what had occurred, took the vessel for a fire-ship which they had sent among his squadron while they were retiring. Misled by this error, he lost not a moment in firing upon her; she sank, and with her went to the bottom all these unfortunate prisoners.

After this battle, as the waves were still greatly agitated and the wind still continued contrary to the Free-booters, their ships dispersed, and they never succeeded in re-assembling together again. Concerning the fate of several, or of their crews, nothing has ever transpired: some of them went through

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strange adventures, which we shall proceed to relate, particularly those which befel three hundred men who marched to the island of San Juan de Cueblo, five miles distant from the continent.

Previously, however, to this general dispersion, a division arose among them, which paralysed all their further schemes, and could not but be productive of consequences the most dangerous to these prudent adventurers, who were so uniformly dexterous in their expeditions. How indeed was it possible for harmony to subsist for a long time between men of different nations, so distant from the island which was their sole point of re-union? It was remarkably altered by the consequences of this fatal battle, which caused a general discontent among them. To these causes must be added dissonance in point of religion, the mere forms of which doubtless had some influence on men of coarse and ignorant habits. At the period now referred to, the English, both in the colonies and in the metropolis, were governed by a spirit of fanaticism, that made them view with horror the ceremonies of the catholics. The Free-booters of that nation being tinctured with this intolerant spirit, insulted the crucifixes and images which they found in the Spanish churches, cut them to pieces, and fired with their pistols at the figures of the saints, as a butt or mark, and mocked their French comrades, who crossed themselves on beholding such profanations. This offensive conduct proved one efficient cause of a division among these pretended christians of opposite creeds. All the French that were dispersed in the different ships which composed the flotilla separated from the English; two hundred were united together under the command of that intrepid French mariner, captain Grogner, of whom we have spoken in a former page, and continued in the vicinity of Panama.

From this time the three hundred mal-contents acted on their own account, and formed a body of the most audacious adventurers that till then had ever been

seen. They robbed both at sea and on shore; took every ship they met; landed wherever there was any thing to plunder; and ransomed every place, whose inhabitants were too weak or too cowardly to oppose them. They made themselves masters of the cities of Leon and Esparso, and set fire to that of Realejo.

As no enemies had ever been seen in those peaceable latitudes, the people trembled at the very sight of an armed man. The formidable name of Free-booter was not even necessary to put every one to flight.

Every thing, even to the superstitious acts of the Spaniards, concurred to increase the calamities of this country. When the Free-booters appeared a second time in a place, the priests solemnly cursed it, and hurled all the thunderbolts of excommunication against it; all the inhabitants, struck with terror, instantly abandoned it, without even taking time to bury the bodies of such as had died in defending their houses.

A bark, belonging to the English, had been wrecked off the coast of Cueblo. Her crew determined to join the French, by whom their offer was the more readily accepted, as they had already experienced much solicitude on account of their inferior numbers, and because after this increase of force they would still retain the chief ascendancy. From this time their piracies were multiplied, though it was so arranged, that each nation might almost constantly act apart.

With a view to get rid of these troublesome guests, the Spaniards had recourse to a manœuvre. They dispatched an officer with a letter from the vicar-general of the province of Costa-Rica to the Free-booters, to acquaint them, that peace had been concluded in Europe between their respective nations, whether they were French or English; that all the powers were at peace, and consequently they hoped that the Free-booters would no longer molest those latitudes, but would proceed on their return; that if they were desirous of effecting such return by the way of the north, every possible assistance should be afforded them, and that



provision should be made for re-conducting them to Europe, as the renewed friends of Spain, by means of the royal galleons. The Pirates, however, soon perceived the falshood of this proposal, and rejected it with indignation. They continued to carry on their piracies. They forcibly took possession of the city of Nicoya, which was situated to the south of the lake Nicaragua; and, as the inhabitants would not ransom it, reduced it to ashes. The French incendiaries, however, who were most numerous on this occasion, acted agreeably to their religious prejudices; and while the fire and sword were devastating every thing, they carefully watched over the preservation of the churches. The very images found in the houses became the object of their care, and were carried into the churches, lest they should be burnt or profaned by their heretical comrades. The city of Chiriquita, and some other places, paid the ransom demanded, in order to escape conflagration.

The English and French still continued to act separately; but, as the latter were superior in point of numbers, their prizes, both at sea and on shore, were more copious than those of their associates. There was some mixture among the English; whereas the other body of Pirates consisted wholly of Frenchmen; and as their number was daily decreasing, and they had no opportunity of recruiting it with Free-booters of their own country, they soon found themselves obliged to admit the English into their association. But all these bodies were alike distinguished by their audacity and their cruelty. Panama was, as it were, the central point, which they frequently visited for the purpose of collecting provisions, and of capturing the ships that appeared in the vicinity of the coast. This afforded them various opportunities for displaying their courage in battles on either element. Shortly after they were joined by captain Grogner, who had, together with sixty Frenchmen, been separated from the first flotilla.

With this important reinforcement the English marched to Pueblo-Viejo, a large town, in which the Spaniards had entrenched themselves in the church, before which were one hundred horsemen drawn up in battle array. But these defenders betrayed the trust that had been reposed in them; they did not even wait for the enemy's approach, but fled the moment they perceived the Free-booters, and abandoned to them a great quantity of provisions, of which they were in extreme want. When these were consumed, they found themselves in the same perplexity in which they had before been; for the Spaniards had carefully carried away to a considerable distance all the provision in the neighbourhood. In consequence of this measure, the Free-booters were obliged to return to San-Juan de Cueblo, where the sea promised them either plunder or some other resources, while part of their comrades continued in these latitudes. Here also they met with their maritime forces, which consisted of one ship, two barks, four canoes, and some pirogues, the building of which was not yet completed.

They were in a state of perfect inactivity, when they suddenly discovered sixteen ships sailing towards the coast. Persuaded that they were Spaniards, and already considering their ship that was in the road as lost, they conveyed with the utmost precipitation every valuable or useful article she contained on board their barks, and ran her aground. At the same time they took every possible measure to prevent a disembarcation, in case the Spaniards were disposed to attempt it. Their precaution proved useless. The Spaniards were by no means inclined to such a bold enterprize. They confined themselves, therefore, to carefully visiting the ruins of the stranded ship, from which they took out the iron she still contained, and content with these spoils, which they doubtless regarded as trophies, they burnt the yet floating pieces of wood, and instantly set sail.

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little flotilla together in the bay of Caldeira, in order to deliberate on some grand expedition, when a vessel came in sight, which they immediately chased. How great was their astonishment when, on coming up with her, they found her to be a pirate ship, manned by Englishmen, and which had formed part of David's squadron. The most fatal consequences might have resulted from this rencounter. By his arrogant conduct towards the French, Tusley, her commander, had greatly contributed towards the disunion which had proved so injurious to both parties. He was therefore, together with his crew, (which however consisted only of one hundred and twenty-five Englishmen), made prisoner without delay, and their vessel was declared to be a lawful prize.

Tusley and his men could not conceal their consternation, which the French enjoyed in secret, but which they did not abuse. Placed as they were at the extremity of the globe, exposed by their piracies, which were sanctioned by no power, to dangers of every kind, and deprived of all assistance, could they think of surrounding themselves with new enemies? They confined themselves, therefore, for five hours, to the *semblance* of a resentment which nothing could appease; and after reproaching their captives in a manner rather fraternal than menacing, on account of their past proceedings, they thought they had inflicted sufficient punishment by the terror they had inspired. The prisoners were all set at liberty, and their ship was restored to them with all that was on board. Being thus restored to favour, the English promised for the future to make a common cause with their old friends, and never more to separate from them.

The Free-booters' forces having, by this occurrence, received a considerable augmentation, it was agreed to undertake a great enterprize. An attack upon the city of Grenada was resolved upon; and, on the 17th of April 1687, three hundred and forty-five men took the road leading to that place. They had been expected

there for a long time; all the valuable effects had been removed to a distance, and preparations were made for their reception. From a prisoner whom they had taken, the Free-booters learnt that all the inhabitants were in arms, and entrenched behind the walls, on which were planted twenty pieces of cannon; and that six companies of cavalry were charged with the defence of the place.

Grenada was a large city, containing well-built houses, several fine convents, and magnificent churches; and was reckoned to be, in other respects, one of the richest cities of Spanish America. It was situated on the shore of the lake Nicaragua, twenty leagues distant from the South Sea. Before its walls stood a vast number of sugar bakehouses, which, on account of their vast circumference, might have been taken for so many towns. The centre of the town was occupied by the depôt of arms, or rather by a quadrangular well fortified fort, capable of holding an entire army. All these apparent obstacles were easily conquered by the Free-booters, who were in a few hours masters of the city with the loss of only twelve men. Nothing, however, remained that was of any use to them, as every article of value had been sent out of the place.

Never before had the Free-booters taken a great city, which there was actually *nothing* for them to plunder. The few moveables and articles of commerce that were left, were in their eyes altogether worthless. The lake of Nicaragua, nevertheless, which disembogues itself into the sea on the north side of this part of America, offered to them a way of quitting the American continent, with equal safety and convenience. But the idea of returning without some considerable booty, after such a series of adventures, fatigues, and dangers, was to them more insupportable than death. They left Grenada, therefore, with the well determined plan of patiently waiting some happy turn of fortune, and took with them only

one single cannon, which proved in the event of the greatest utility to them. For no sooner had they entered the open country, but they were attacked by a body of two thousand five hundred men, who betook themselves to flight at the *first* cannon-shot. Another detachment of five hundred men, who had come from the city of Leon, which lies some leagues to the north-west of Grenada, was repulsed with equal facility. But on the following day, as they were crossing a desert, they were in consequence of the intense heat, and for want of water, obliged to spike and abandon their precious piece of cannon, as the oxen that drew it were dead with thirst. Not one of the districts, through which they thus passed, afforded them any sustenance whatever; the Indians having, by order of the government, destroyed all the provisions which could not be conveyed to a distance.

The inhabitants of the town of Ginandejo had invited the Free-booters to repair to them, but this was only a snare in which they were themselves caught. The Spaniards had fortified a passage leading to that town, and had posted two hundred men there. The Free-booters approached, and with their accustomed intrepidity forced this passage, which they seemed disposed to contest. The garrison fled without even attempting a resistance. The irritated conquerors entered Ginandejo, and set it on fire.

It appears almost incredible, that the Free-booters should be in the vicinity of one of the finest and most fertile provinces, and yet be exposed to a terrible famine; but this enigma will be explained when the nature of their naval forces is considered. They had only wretched vessels, in which they durst not venture into the main sea; consequently they were obliged to creep close in upon the shore, and thus be constantly in sight of the Spaniards; so that the latter could watch all their motions, and had the leisure necessary to remove before their arrival all the valuable articles and provisions which the country produ-

cod. Thus the Free-booters had no possible means of making a sudden attack, which would have been no difficult task to them with a large ship, which they might keep at such a distance that she could not be watched. Their position was nevertheless extremely inconvenient to the Spaniards; throughout the whole length of whose coasts the presence of this formidable enemy was announced. Already had a great number of ships fallen into his hands; the terror he inspired interrupted all communication by sea between the maritime cities of Chili and Peru. The Spaniards durst no longer send out any of those vessels, scarcely even one of those small craft, which carried on an active and flourishing commerce between different points of those coasts; and they were reduced to the necessity of trading only *by land*,—a more certain mode indeed, but far more expensive,—so long as the Free-booters were pleased to continue in those latitudes.

At length the great body of Free-booters, of whom we are here speaking, reached the shore in the vicinity of which their comrades were stationed. When they were all re-united, they deliberated on the measures they had to take. Some proposed to cross the height of Panama, hoping that the Spaniards, taking courage from the distance of their very formidable enemy, would resume their navigation. By others it was objected, that at the then present season a long series of hurricanes often prevailed on the South Sea, that it was much better to sail towards the west, to winter in some island, and there wait for a more favourable season. As each party persisted in its opinion, it was agreed to separate. In this body of Free-booters there were six severely wounded, and four who were crippled; they thought, therefore, that a very particular care ought, first of all, to be taken of them; and to the accomplishment of this humane and fraternal duty, they devoted all the money which was deposited in the spare chest of the society. The six wounded men received six hundred piasters each, and

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the four cripples one thousand each. All the barks, canoes, naval ammunition, and provisions, were amicably divided. The number of Frenchmen who were desirous of going to Panama was one hundred and forty-eight; they were joined by all the English, and especially by the one hundred and twenty-five that had been brought by captain Tusley, on whom the command in chief was conferred. The other body was less numerous, consisting of one hundred and forty-eight Frenchmen, who wished to sail under the orders of captain Grogner; but he was unwilling to detach himself from the strongest troop. Their formal separation took place on the 13th of March 1686; but, for want of a complete information, we shall here only describe the adventures which befel the principal body under the command of captain Tusley.

The first undertaking of these Free-booters was the capture of the city of Vallia, thirty leagues distant from Panama, where they took three hundred prisoners, and found gold and silver to the amount of fifteen hundred thousand piasters, and merchandize to the amount of one million and a half. They took away only the most valuable articles which were most easy of conveyance, in the expectation of completing their plunder by extorting very heavy sums for the ransom of the city and prisoners. The Alcalde (the supreme magistrate) had fled; but means were found to convey to him an offer for a kind of capitulation. He haughtily replied, that he had no other ransom for the Free-booters than powder and shot, which were at their service; that, as for the prisoners, he abandoned them to the decrees of Providence; and, further, that his troops were already assembled, in order to cultivate an acquaintance with their new guests. On the arrival of this answer, the town was instantly burnt and abandoned. The booty was put on board two canoes, which descended the river and conveyed it towards the sea; while the main body pursued

their course, marching at some distance from the shores. The Spaniards durst not attack them; but six hundred formed an ambuscade, in order to watch the passage of the plunder, which being indifferently protected, they succeeded in wholly re-taking it, by a sudden attack upon the canoes. After some imprudences on the part of the Alcalde, which cost several Spanish prisoners their lives, ten thousand piasters (between 2 and 3000l.) were at length paid for the ransom of the rest.

In the course of these rash enterprizes, which could not but be attended with the most disastrous consequences to the authors of them, successes and failures alternately occurred. The Free-booters captured a ship that was coming from Panama, by whose crew they were informed, that thirty-six of their comrades had, on board a small bark, attempted to reach the opposite coast by following the course of the river Boca del Chica; but that the Spaniards, having united with the Indians of the country, had attacked them during their passage with such superior force, that most of the Free-booters had fallen, and one of them had been conducted prisoner to Panama. It was added, that two bodies of Englishmen, each consisting of forty men, had on their march experienced the same fate, and had all of them been cut to pieces. These fatal news, however, were compensated by the information which the Free-booters at the same time received; that two ships were every moment expected to arrive at Panama from Lima, with a cargo of grain, and with money for paying the garrison. They stationed themselves near the island of Taroga, in order to watch their passage.

But, during the interval, a Spanish prisoner contrived to effect his escape to the governor of Panama, whom he informed of the weakness of the Free-booters' forces. From this information ample advantage was derived, as the event will shortly prove. A frigate and two barks appeared one day, at a very early hour



in the morning, and bore down upon them full sail. The Free-booters could expect to gain no booty, their strength was too unequal.

It was impossible for them to avoid fighting; and they engaged with their usual ardour. They poured a shower of grenadoes into the frigate, produced on her deck the greatest disorder, and took her by boarding. They also took possession of one of the barks; the other, in her flight, ran aground upon the coast, and lost the greater part of her crew. Out of one hundred and twenty men, the complement of the frigate, eighty were killed or wounded; and, of sixty-six belonging to the bark taken by boarding, only nineteen escaped without being wounded by the shot of the Free-booters.

The conquerors were occupied in throwing into the sea the dead bodies of the frigate, and in repairing her rigging, when they discovered two large barks coming from Panama. The Free-booters concluded that the news of their victory had not reached the city, and hastened to avail themselves of this presumed ignorance. They hoisted the Spanish flag on board the frigate, and let the two barks advance. The moment these were near, they opened a terrible fire upon them, and commanded them to yield. On their refusal, such a vast number of grenadoes were poured into one of them, that she took fire and sunk; the other was taken in a few minutes. On board the latter, the Free-booters found four large bundles of ropes, which the Spaniards (not doubting but that the victory had been decided in favour of their countrymen) sent to them as a necessary article, the destination of which was by no means equivocal. The prisoners, who had been charged with this mission, expiated it in a most cruel manner. They were all put to death.

In the course of these various engagements the Free-booters had only one of their comrades killed, but twenty-two were severely wounded, and among

others captain Tusley, who died soon afterwards of his wounds, as also did all the others without exception; which circumstance contributed to give some degree of credit to their suspicion, that the enemy's shot had been poisoned.

These unexpected successes having restored the Free-booters to a kind of tranquillity, they recollected that, in their comrades' attempts to withdraw across the country, five of them (four English and one Frenchman) had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; in consequence of which they seized an opportunity of entering into a correspondence with the president of Panama. They demanded the liberation of the five prisoners, threatening him, in case of a refusal, that four Spanish captives should be put to death for each of them. The president refused the demand, and excused himself in a letter, which the commandant of fort Seppa was charged to transmit to them. They verbally replied, that unless their five comrades were restored, they would infallibly send him the heads of the Spanish prisoners. The president was in great perplexity; the Free-booters' menaces appeared to him exceedingly formidable. He thought the intervention of a minister of religion might succeed in mitigating their anger; and he accordingly availed himself of the assistance of the archbishop of Panama, who addressed them a letter in the following terms:—"Gentlemen,—The president has written to you in a severe tone; but, for my part, on the contrary, *I fervently beseech* you no longer to shed the blood of the innocent that are in your power, since they have all been compelled to fight against you. The president's refusal to restore you the prisoners of war is founded on the obedience which he owes to his sovereign's orders, who has prohibited exchanges of this description. I will, however, exert every effort to procure the liberty of your companions. Rely on my word. You shall be satisfied. But I must at the same time inform you, that

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"the four Englishmen have all become catholics;  
"that there is already a catholic church at Jamaica,  
"and that the four prisoners of that nation have been  
"converted, and have therefore determined to con-  
"tinue among us."

The Free-booters saw clearly that the Spaniards wished to extricate themselves from their embarrassment by a decent pretence; but whenever those Pirates were deeply interested in any thing, it was impossible for them to be put off with vain subterfuges. The sight also of their comrades, who were dying one after another of wounds which they supposed to be poisoned, rendered them still less susceptible of compassion. They therefore put their terrible menace into execution, and sent twenty of their prisoners' heads to Panama, with an assurance that, if any further delay took place in the deliverance of their companions, they would very speedily send all the heads of the other Spanish prisoners. Of these ninety-six still remained, of whose fate no doubt whatever could be entertained after this first specimen of ferocity. The president of Panama therefore set their comrades at liberty without any further hesitation; and, at the time he sent them back, he transmitted by them a very polite letter, together with considerable refreshments for their wounded men; and likewise with an assurance, that, if he had a greater number of prisoners, he would have liberated all of them. The Free-booters in their reply reproached him with having thus become voluntarily guilty of his countrymen's death. Their answer also contained very bitter complaints respecting the poisoned shot; it was, said they, a violation of every law of war, which ought it justice to have been punished by the execution of all the prisoners, as well of those who were then in their power, as of such as might in future fall into their hands. They however sent back twelve wounded Spaniards, with a declaration, that, if the president wished to save the lives of all the rest, he must pay

a ransom of ten thousand piasters (between 7 and 800l.). - Although this new menace was very terrifying, they were obliged to repeat it before they could obtain the sum required.

The Pirates afterwards continued to land at and pillage different places, in the expectation that some richly laden vessels might become their prey, and still retaining the hope that some favourable opportunity would occur of regaining the north sea, with their booty, by some passage across the country.

Their first expedition was directed against Queaquilla, a very rich city of Peru, which was built on the banks of a river of the same name, about ten miles from the sea. It is wholly erected on piles, on account of the frequent inundations to which it is exposed; and, as well as the river that washes its walls, is called Guayaquil. Seven hundred Spaniards attempted to march against the Free-booters, but they were immediately put to flight, and withdrew into three forts that commanded the city: and, notwithstanding each fort was garrisoned by five thousand men, they fell one after another into the hands of the intrepid assailants, who fought eleven hours successively, and did not rest themselves until they were completely masters both of the city and of its forts. The governor and principal officers, who valiantly defended themselves, were wounded, and had the vexation of being taken prisoners, together with seven hundred other inhabitants. The fugitive Spaniards were pursued across the country by the English Free-booters; while the French, like good catholics, assembled in the principal church, and sang *Te Deum*!

This glorious conquest, however, was dearly purchased by the Free-booters, and cost them a pretty considerable number of their comrades, and among others, captain Grogner, who was mortally wounded, and died on the following day. The loss of this commander, who was distinguished among this band of robbers by his genius and moderation, was very sen-

sibly felt by them, especially as it followed so closely upon that of another valuable chieftain, captain Tusley.

At Guayaquil they took an immense booty, consisting of pearls, precious stones, ingots of silver, and seventy thousand piasters (nearly £16,000). But far more considerable treasures, containing among other things, three millions in cash had been saved by the inhabitants during the battle. These riches were carried off in some shallops, which were pursued to no purpose, as they were gone too far. The Free-booters could only take away a cannon of *massy silver* of twenty thousand piasters weight (worth about £5000), and a *golden eagle*, intended to decorate the high altar of the principal church, which weighed sixty-eight pounds, and was ornamented with emeralds. There were in the port fourteen ships, which were altogether useless to the victors, as also were the cannon in the forts, and several other articles of too great bulk or too little value. But the Free-booters had recourse to another expedient. They made the governor stipulate for the ransom of the prisoners, the city, forts, vessels, &c. that one million piasters in gold (about £230,000) should be paid beside four hundred sacks of corn that were to come from the city of Quito, which was eighteen leagues distant.

While these affairs were transacting, an accident occurred, which called forth all the Free-booters' presence of mind. During the night a fire broke out near the spot where all their booty, gun-powder, and ammunition were deposited. The whole was rapidly conveyed on board the ships which were moored in the port, and all the prisoners were confined in the largest of the forts. As soon as these precautions had been carried into effect, the Free-booters exerted every possible effort to extinguish the fire, which notwithstanding reduced one third of the city to ashes.

This misfortune, however, produced no effect in the treaty which the governor promised punctually to fulfil.

The streets of the city had continued incumbered with dead bodies to the number of nine hundred. Hence arose a terrible infection, which produced disorders that affected most of the conquerors. They determined therefore to quit this dangerous theatre of their glory, and set sail for the isle of Puna, after having spiked all the cannon, and selected five hundred prisoners of both sexes to accompany them.

In that island the Free-booters spent three days in the midst of amusements and rejoicings. Each day were brought to them, from Guayaquil, not only fresh provisions, but also whatever could flatter their appetites, in the greatest profusion. As all the musicians of the city were among the prisoners whom they had obliged to accompany them, their days were merrily passed to the sound of theorboes, guitars, harps, and lutes. No anxious cares disturbed this continuity of pleasures, for both parties were perfectly secure. The performance of the convention appeared to meet with no further difficulties; and the Free-booters seemed to have forgotten their manners, and presented themselves to the conquered only under the most agreeable aspects. These long continued scenes of voluptuousness were favoured by the beauty of the climate; and the women even offered themselves to their embraces with a degree of abandonment. In the bosom of a captivity like this, they were under less constraint than when they were in their own houses; they participated in the general festivity, danced, sang, and even drank with their reputed ferocious victors, who endeavoured to render themselves almost constantly amiable, and who permitted the women to taste more lively pleasures than those with which they were surrounded, so that they no longer appeared to be under any controul.

This delightful situation, however, was soon inter-

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rupted. The term fixed for discharging the ransom was expired, and the payment of it was not completed.

A respite was granted; but in lieu of the promised money, an officer came and brought them exhortations to patience. The Free-booters now began to be persuaded that they were trifled with, and that the Spaniards were desirous only to gain the time necessary for enabling them to adopt some violent measure against them. They were therefore resolved to intimidate their enemies by a terrible lesson. The prisoners were obliged to draw lots; and the four unfortunate persons on whom the lots fell were instantly beheaded. Their heads were transmitted by way of answer to the officer who had been sent to them, and who was charged to announce to his principals, that, unless the ransom was paid, they should receive the heads of all the other prisoners.

On the following day the Free-booters' suspicion was converted into certainty; they no longer doubted of treachery. A courier was intercepted on his road from the governor (*pro tempore*) of Guayaquil to the viceroy of Peru, whose dispatches indicated the design that had been formed against them. The governor gave him an account of the death of the prisoners, and promised to send from time to time a few thousand piasters to the Pirates, in order to amuse them until the arrival of the succours that were preparing; "and when," it was stated in the letter, "the heads of fifty Spanish prisoners shall have been sent, will not that loss be amply compensated by the certain hope of utterly exterminating these robbers?"

This news threw the prisoners into the utmost consternation. The governor of Guayaquil, who was among them, sent into the city a monk who was held in great estimation, and whom he invested with full powers to accelerate, by every possible means, the payment of the ransom, without regarding any thing the deputy-governor might say or do. During these transactions a bark arrived at the isle of Puna, with

twenty-four sacks of flour and twenty thousand piasters in gold; and at the same time a further delay of three days was requested for delivery of the remainder. To this request the Free-booters acceded; but threatened the Spaniards with another visit to Guayaquil the moment that term should be expired. On the second day, it was announced from the city, that, instead of the remaining money promised, they would only pay twenty-two thousand piasters (about £5000); and that, for the rest, they had five thousand men ready for the Free-booters' reception. On the arrival of this message, the Pirates were transported with the utmost fury: some of them proposed instantly to decapitate all the prisoners; while others represented that this would be needless cruelty, since they were at all events resolved to retire from the South Sea; and that the reinforcements which the Spaniards had received rendered the event of a fresh engagement altogether uncertain.

They thought, therefore, that it would be best to accept the two-and-twenty thousand piasters which were offered; and with this opinion the majority coincided. The money was in consequence punctually sent; and by way of exchange, the prisoners were restored, with the exception of fifty principal persons, among whom was the governor. These were compelled to embark on board the vessels, with a view to answer another ransom, which the Pirates expected to extort from them.

At length they were ready to depart from the isle of Puna, where they had spent thirty days in every gratification of life. A fortunate occurrence preceded their departure. Captain David, their first commander, from whom, as we have already noticed, they had two years before been separated, very unexpectedly appeared at Puna with a frigate, and immediately after rendered them very essential services. Scarcely had he arrived when they fell in with some Spanish men-of-war, that had been sent in search of them. In this



engagement there was an extreme disparity, both in the size of the ships as well as in the bore of the guns and the strength of the crews. For, since they had parted from the original fleet, the Free-booters, had not had any ships properly so called, but only some wretched vessels, with which they could not remove to any distance from the coasts. The Spaniards, however, obtained no advantage over them. The combatants were separated by the night; on the ensuing morning the engagement was renewed, and lasted till night. The following day the Spanish men-of-war were out of sight.

Being thus released from this hard fought rencounter, the Free-booters landed near Cape Pastoa all their remaining prisoners, who were very chargeable to them, by consuming a part of their provisions, which was a clear loss to the Pirates. The captives were restored to their liberty without any ransom; and the Free-booters afterwards directed their course towards the mouth of the river Guayaquil, which was their usual place of rendezvous on the termination of such of their cruises and expeditions as were of short duration; but they were thwarted by contrary winds and tempests, which threw their flotilla into great confusion. Most of their barks were dispersed; a few only kept together, the crews of which had yet greater sufferings to undergo. Their provisions began to fail, and at length they experienced such a degree of scarcity, that they ate only *once* in eight-and-forty hours. They were likewise entirely destitute of fresh water; but from this trying crisis, beneath which they were ready to fall, they were opportunely relieved by a very heavy shower of rain. In order to allay the thirst with which they were tormented, they resorted to every expedient for collecting as much as possible of that beneficent fluid. A short time after they arrived in latitudes where there was fish and sea-wolves in very great abundance. At length they reached

the bay of Tecoantepagua, which lies on the west of Guatimala.

On the shore of that bay stood a large and opulent city of the same name, and which had eight suburbs. At the sight of it their avidity for plunder was re-awakened. They were desirous of attempting to land, in order to pillage the place; notwithstanding it was garrisoned by three hundred men, to whom they could only oppose one hundred and forty combatants. Rash as this enterprize must appear, they were determined to undertake it by their pressing want of provisions. They therefore approached the city, which was protected by entrenchments; crossed the river that parted it, and fought *up to their waists in water* for upwards of one hour. They afterwards forced the entrenchments, and in a few hours were masters of the place, with the exception of an abbey, which resembled a fort, and was still defended by the most valiant men of the garrison. Of this also they would, in all probability, have taken possession, had not a circumstance occurred that frustrated all their calculations. The capacious river which washed the city walls overflowed its banks so prodigiously, that the Free-booters being on every side surrounded and in danger of drowning, were obliged to leave all their spoil behind them, and withdraw as quickly as possible. At length they reached their ordinary rendezvous, Guayaquil, together with all their vessels.

But this re-union was not of long duration. The fickle David again separated from his old associates, with the view of returning home by way of the Straights of Magellan. During his first separation he had been very active in his enterprizes; having taken some Spanish ships, which he had released after plundering them, and also landed at Sagna, Arica, Pisca, and several other places. The plunder he had thus collected was so considerable, that the smallest share of his conquest amounted to fifty thousand piasters (about £12500).

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Another body of Free-booters, after the example of David and his men, separated from the society. It consisted of fifty-five men; who were by no means disposed to incur a second time the dangers of sailing through the Streights of Magellan, nor of braving the still more formidable ones to which they were exposed by travelling by land. They embarked on board a small vessel for California, in order to make an effort to reach by that course the opposite shore, and, if it were possible, to arrive at one of the western Antilles. As they ceased to form part of the great corporation, we shall only briefly notice their fate.

Scarcity of provisions, together with the wretched state of their bark, compelled them to land at a short distance from the coasts of California, on three small contiguous desert islands, known by the name of the Three Mary Islands. Deprived of every thing necessary to enable them to continue their route, they were obliged, so to speak, to settle there; and lived there four successive years in a state of absolute privation: surrounded by a vast number of Spaniards and Indians, they could make no effort to procure from the neighbouring continent, the means of saving themselves. At last they determined to return to Guayaquil, in the hope of still meeting with their former comrades at that place. They abandoned themselves, therefore, to the mercy of the waves in their wretched bark, and sailed southward to the object of their researches. They were fruitless: so that these corsairs had no other resource but to continue their route towards the Streights of Magellan. Thus they sailed nearly two thousand marine leagues, with the winds almost constantly against them, and a prey to afflictions of more descriptions than one. They had already reached the middle of the Streights, when the idea of returning poor, after enduring so many fatigues, inspired them with the extravagant project of returning back again, and of pillaging the Peruvian coasts. They did more: they actually car-

ried their scheme into execution. On their route back, they learnt by chance that there was in the port of Arica a ship, laden with ingots of silver, which apparently thought herself in perfect safety. She had on board the most recent productions of the celebrated mines of Potosi, to which the port of Arica served as a mart. Her cargo was valued at two millions of piasters (nearly £230,000), the whole of which became the prey of the Free-booters, who had only to make their appearance, in order to take possession of the ship. They immediately embarked, and thought their plunder perfectly safe, when they had the misfortune to run aground in the Straights of Magellan. Part of their treasure was saved. With the wreck they constructed two shallops, with which they sailed along the shores of Brasil, and at length arrived, without further accidents, at the island of Cayenne. Here some of them settled, while others departed for Saint Domingo, and the remainder set sail for France with their rich booty.

Captain Le Sage, of whom we have spoken in a former page, was not less successful with his Free-booters. He also wished to enter the South Sea with two hundred men; but the season being too far advanced, he could not possibly pass the Straights of Magellan. He was therefore obliged to cruise along the African coasts, where he took many prizes. With the produce of this cruise he was enabled to live for two years in the greatest plenty; when a fortunate chance threw into his hands a ship belonging to the Dutch West India company, and which had on board a great quantity of gold dust. For the present, the Free-booters thought they had reason to be satisfied with their cruise: they quitted the African seas, and returned to Saint Domingo.

With regard to those who were on their way to Europe under David's orders, with their rich booty, their destinies were not yet terminated. During their long voyage they were tormented with *ennui*; to

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avoid which they had recourse to gambling, and thus violated one of their laws. Many of them lost all they had; and, supported by the fundamental principles of the Brethren of the Coast, they positively refused to return home without making new captures. With their demands David was obliged to comply, and accordingly gave orders to tack about, notwithstanding they were already in the vicinity of the Straights of Magellan. Just as this retrograde movement was carrying into effect, a singular accident brought to their view a ship manned by Free-booters; they were their comrades and fellow-countrymen, who had likewise returned under the command of captain Wilnet. Like themselves, the English had, for want of occupation, given themselves up to gambling; and the losers, like the mal-contents in David's ship, could not determine to pursue their route. An exchange, as singular as this rencounter, was instantly proposed and executed. The winners who were on board the last ship, were very averse to the risking of their riches by prolonging their continuance in these seas, where they might be exposed to new dangers. They embarked, therefore, on board Wilnet's vessel, who had got rid of his mal-contents, by permitting them to join David for the purpose of recommencing cruises, by which they were to repair their losses. David was unwilling to leave his ship. Behold him then again launched into the South Sea, with sixty English and twenty Frenchmen, and sailing towards those latitudes where he had so recently left his friends. In fact, they arrived at Guayaquil, and were received with transports of joy.

Just at this moment news were received that two other Free-booters' ships, under the command of captains Henri and Swans, had set sail for the West Indies, in order to deposit their booty in safety.

Thus were dispersed in troops, more or less numerous, and who abandoned themselves to the most

strange and diversified adventures, those Free-booters who had appeared in the South Seas, and who were equally formidable by their numbers and by their valour.

## CHAP. XII.

**T**HE Free-booters who continued the latest in the South Seas, at length began to think seriously of their return: but how was this to be effected with their wretched barks? They were therefore obliged to think of making an attempt by crossing the continent. But to what dangers were they about to expose themselves! What difficulties had they to conquer! They were destitute of guides. Enemies there were on every side; but they had *no* provisions for their company, *no* fodder for their cattle. How then could they proceed, with so many dangers, with so many impediments before them, in conveying their sick and wounded? Every step they advanced they must fight. Nature and mankind seemed to concur together to oppose their march: yet they must brave every thing, or renounce *for ever* the hope of again seeing their country, and resign themselves to perish miserably, one after another. After having interrogated all their prisoners, and having weighed and compared their reports, they determined to take their route by the city of New Segova, which was dependent on the governor of Nicaragua, on the north of the lake of that name, at the distance of forty French leagues from the South Sea, and twenty-five from a river that discharged itself into the sea opposite Cape Gracias-à-Dios. In order to collect every information necessary, sixty men were

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sent up the country, particularly charged to take some prisoners, if it were possible. These emissaries marched till they had exhausted their strength; and having learnt that six thousand Spaniards were in the neighbourhood, they thought they ought not to continue their searches any further, and accordingly returned. Eighteen only had the audacity to advance. They met with three horsemen, who informed them that they were near the small city of Chiloteca, which was inhabited by four hundred Spaniards, exclusive of negroes, mulattoes, and Indians; but who, they assured these Free-booters, were utterly ignorant of their approach.

The first idea of these eighteen adventurers was, to go in quest of their comrades, and return with them to pillage the city: but, on more mature consideration, they were apprehensive lest such delay would discover them, and determined to attempt the enterprize *alone*. They rushed therefore into the city, uttering vehement cries, and by this sudden irruption they inspired such a terror, that the inhabitants did not even think of defending themselves; and in a moment these eighteen Free-booters were masters of the place. Here they commenced with taking a certain number of horses; which, in their present desperate situation, was an object of great importance to them. They also thought it necessary to take some prisoners, among whom was the commandant of the city. From him they learnt that the great galley of Panama was stationed near Caldera, for the purpose of watching the Pirates; who, it was presumed, would attempt to penetrate, with their ships, to the opposite sea; and that there was at the same time stationed near the port of Realejo another ship of war, mounting thirty guns, and with a crew of four hundred men, to dispute their entrance to that port.

In the mean time the inhabitants, who seeing so small a number of assailants had recovered from their

first terror, had taken arms. The eighteen Free-booters defended themselves with their accustomed valour; but as their adversaries increased every moment, they mounted the horses they had taken, and withdrew fighting, being pursued by six hundred men, who could not reach these audacious adventurers. These had the good fortune to rejoin their comrades, who had posted themselves on an island in the bay of Mapalla, which had recently been pointed out as a general rendezvous of the Free-booters; and who were impatiently expecting their return.

It was unanimously resolved at all events to approach the sea of the Antilles. In vain did all the news they received tend to present this passage to them as exposed to insuperable difficulties. They had formed the firm resolution of attempting it; and, in order to take away every means of abandoning it, they determined to take all their barks, large and small, *to pieces*, with the reservation of a galley and a few canoes, which they still wanted to convey them from the island to the Continent. The whole troop, which consisted of one hundred and eighty-five individuals, was then divided into four companies; from which forty men were to be selected, during the march, to form the advanced guard. As they were very illstocked with provisions, their prisoners were very chargeable to them; but, on setting them at liberty, they had compromised the secret of their march, their inferiority of their forces, and all their measures. In other respects these prisoners were by no means useless to them, they being employed in carrying the necessary utensils, medicines, and the sick. The Free-booters made every previous arrangement possible, in order that the dangers they were about to encounter, as well as the prizes they yet hoped to take, might be shared among them, according to fixed rules.

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at five hundred thousand piasters (about £200,000). The massy silver was easily divided by weight; but great difficulties arose respecting the partition of the gold, jewels, pearls, and precious stones. There was no other expedient but to sell them by auction, and making them be paid for in silver valued by weight. Of this last metal several of them had such an abundance, that they were unable to carry it away; so that they gave large quantities for valuable articles of less bulk. Thus, for small pieces of gold coin worth ten livres in silver, even fifteen were given; and for an ounce of massy gold, eighty and even one hundred piasters. For some time past the Free-booters held silver in little esteem, on account of the difficulty of carrying it, and attached value only to gold and jewels. Thus there had been left at Guayaquil pretty considerable quantities of silver, with which they would not incumber themselves: and also, after their engagement near that city, being informed that one hundred barrels, each of which contained eleven thousand piasters, were deposited at a small distance, they did not take the trouble of going to collect that portion of their plunder, which under other circumstances would have been so valuable.

Although gaming, as already noticed, was prohibited by the rules of their society, yet *ennui*, the source of so many evils, often made them infringe this wise prohibition. They had no other means of amusing themselves in such a remote part of the world, where they experienced the privation of the most necessary articles, and where time passed, for them, with excessive slowness. Such also was their resource in the situation they were in while on the coast of Nicaragua. Thus, at the moment of their departure from the South Sea, a great inequality prevailed between the various portions of the plunder that had been shared. Some of them had even lost their all, and were reduced to extreme poverty. Among the most fortunate winners

was Ravenneau de Lussan, to whom we are partially indebted for the narrative of their adventures. He possessed, for his own share, gold, pearls, and precious stones, to the value of thirty thousand piasters (nearly £7,000). The comparison of the opulence of some with the poverty of the others could not but be revolting to men, among whom (according to their principles) the most perfect equality ought to prevail. It produced a conspiracy: eighteen of the poorest determined to assassinate all their rich comrades, and seize their spoils; but their design was detected, and its execution prevented by wise means. Lussan relates that he saved at least a great part of his property, as well as his life, by an expedient, of which the effect appeared to him most certain. He displayed before his companions every thing he had, and shared it among several of them, on condition that each of them should, after their happy arrival at St. Domingo, restore to him a certain portion of their easily transportable deposit. Is it not singular that these men should be afraid of assassination, while they were not permitted to rob one of their living comrades; and yet that they should confide themselves to them as to faithful depositaries?—On the first day of January 1688, these Free-booters of the South Sea, to the number of two-hundred and eighty-five, began their march with sixty-eight horses. Their departure took place in the sight of these very armed Spanish ships with which they had fought the evening before. They had previously cast their cannon into the sea, together with all the moveables and utensils they could dispense with. They had burnt part of their effects, and had broken to pieces all that yet remained of their barks. They had not omitted solemnly to offer up their petitions to God, that they might obtain a prosperous voyage. Their crew was inconsiderable. Their gold and silver were the heaviest articles of carriage. Every man carried what belonged to himself; which was not a light burthen. Many, who had lost

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their all by gaming, were freed from this inconvenience ; but to prevent them from murmuring, the rich, after the example of Lussan, made an agreement with them, and gave such as were poor a part of their precious metals to carry, on condition that, if they arrived without any accident at the common place of destination, they should keep half as a reward for their trouble and attention, but that the other part should be restored to the proprietors.

The Free-booters' march lay across that part of Spanish America, which comprises the province of Guatemala, having the coast of Honduras on the north, and Cape Gracias-à-Dios towards the west. The inhabitants of these countries were prepared for their appearance, and opposed every possible obstacle in their way. They blocked up their passage with felled trees, and other things calculated to stop up roads, and to render the very foot-paths impassable. All the provisions were conveyed to a distance. The herbage of the meadows and fields was consumed by fire ; so that both men and horses were threatened with suffocation by the smoke and heat. Often were the Free-booters obliged to stop until the fire was extinguished ; in consequence of which their march was frequently interrupted, and the views of the Spaniards completely answered ; as the latter were busily engaged in throwing up a great entrenchment that was not yet finished. The Free-booters travelled but slowly ; they fell into some ambuscades which were prepared in the middle of the woods ; and, on the eighth day of their march, they fell into one at Tusignala, where three hundred Spaniards were lying flat on the ground, who surprised and killed many with shot from their fuses. The assailants were indeed, speedily dispersed ; but being reinforced by fresh detachments, they constantly kept near the intrepid travellers, behind forests of fir-trees, or were concealed in thick bushes. Every night and morning they regularly blew their trumpets : and when

ever the road was favourable for a surprise, they never failed to fire upon the advanced guard. On the ninth day, the Free-booters arrived at a great ambush, which, however, they opportunely discovered: the Spaniards were furiously attacked, and forced to flee, leaving their horses behind them. The Free-booters always had the precaution to encamp either on an eminence, or rather in the open country, whence they could have a very extensive prospect on every side.

On the eleventh day they arrived at New Segovia, where they expected a severe engagement, and hoped to obtain, if not a rich booty, at least some provisions; but they found nothing; the inhabitants had carried off every thing. This was a most fatal mistake for the Free-booters; for they had fully intended to indemnify themselves for some time, for the extreme fatigues they had just experienced. They had incessantly to climb up steep mountains, to stagger on the borders of deep chasms, to descend again at the peril of their lives by very rapid declivities. In the morning they felt a penetrating cold on these mountains, and were plunged in such a thick fog, that they could no longer see one another, and could only recognise themselves by the voice. This mist is usually dispersed about ten o'clock; and then they felt a most severe cold, from which they were exempted at the foot of the mountain; but the lower grounds were very narrow and confined. They had scarcely travelled one league in the valley, when they were obliged to climb up six leagues further, and again to descend, with much fatigue and danger. New Segovia was situated at the bottom of a bason or plain surrounded on every side with these steep mountains; it was, further, a large city, containing very fine houses, and several churches, which presented but a wretched appearance.

As this deserted city offered no allurement to the Free-booters, it was abandoned by them the day

after their arrival there, which was the twelfth of their march. They were in very great uncertainty as to the means of continuing their route ; for the prisoners, who had hitherto served them as guides, were unacquainted with the roads beyond Segovia. A new prisoner, however, fell very unfortunately into their hands, whom they took with them, compelling him to conduct them towards a river, which was still twenty leagues from the entrance.

Towards sun-rise they were on the summit of a mountain, whence they discerned, to their great surprise, in a valley, from twelve to fifteen hundred beasts passing, and which they at first took to be oxen. What a rencounter for travellers famished with hunger and exhausted by fatigue. Their joy was but of short continuance : these animals were horses, saddled and bridled. Forty of their comrades who had been sent out for intelligence, received the melancholy conviction of the fact ; but what was more fatal, was that on their arrival close by these horses they discovered these entrenchments, which rose like terraces one above another. This formidable amphitheatre was carried all round the mountains, and completely stopped the way, which the Free-booters must necessarily pass on the following day. There was no means of eluding this passage by taking a circuitous route. On one side of the mountain flowed a river ; and a small eminence, surrounded by an entrenchment, commanded the only passage by which the Free-booters could go out with their forces. The whole surrounding country was a thick, impassable forest, beset with rocks, intersected by precipices, partly covered with morass, across which there was not the slightest appearance of a way, or even of a foot-path. Nevertheless, as the only road that existed passed close by the entrenchment, and as the Free-booters would have been separated from the Spaniards, who were expecting them only by a narrow valley, there were

fewer difficulties and less dangers in their attempting to force their way across the forest. As they could not hope to avoid a battle, which ever step they took, they paused for a moment at the idea of taking the Spaniards in the rear, and suddenly attacking them in their entrenchments. It might perhaps have been practicable, if they would have left all their baggage behind, and, carrying nothing but their arms, have attempted to climb, one by one, up the mountains and steep precipices ; but they were extremely averse to abandon any article whatever which they had brought with them, so that this expedient was soon rejected. They agreed upon that which their imperious circumstances dictated, viz. the diminution of the number of their adversaries, and which had hitherto been so considerable. For there was still behind them a body of three hundred Spaniards, who continually kept in sight of the spot where they were encamped. Their camp indeed was only an inclosed space, barricaded with chariots, and was to be placed out of danger of an attack while they undertook the perilous attempt.

Their arrangements were made after the following plan: the baggage, horses, sick men, prisoners, and in short whatever could not accompany them, were left in the camp under an escort of eighty Free-booters. They further took care to continue every manœuvre that was calculated to inspire with terror the Spaniards that were in their front and rear, by keeping up fires all night, repeating the rolls upon the drum, relieving the sentinels with a great noise, and amid the cries usually accompanying that business during war, and at intervals by discharges of musquetry. Their baggage was arranged in the form of a square, in order to form a kind of entrenchment ; in the interior of which the horses were disposed, and where the sick, wounded, and prisoners had their respective places. All these measures continued to be taken with extreme rapidity, as the evening began to approach, and they

must, of necessity, put themselves in motion as soon as the night should be set in. The march therefore commenced the moment they were favoured by the darkness. The Free-booters descended from their eminence after having formed their itinerary according to the information communicated by one of their associates, whom they had sent out to reconnoitre the ground. Previously however to marching, they did not neglect to say their prayers, but in a low voice, lest the Spaniards should hear them. The latter were almost at the same time thundering out with a loud voice the evening prayers and the litanies, and discharged their musquetry and artillery in honour of their saints, as if they had been desirous of insulting the vanquished, and of celebrating before hand their infallible victory.

The Free-booters pursued their way to the number of two hundred. They encountered incredible difficulties in working themselves a passage across the forest, in climbing up and descending steep rocks; sometime creeping on their knees, at others sliding along the rapid declivity of the rocks; sometimes being obliged to *leap up precipices*, without keeping on foot even for a single moment. At length they reached the summit of a mountain, from which they saw the Spanish entrenchments below them on their left.

Day-light appeared. They were involved in the greatest difficulties. The greatest impediments had been surmounted, but their object was not yet accomplished. Their audacious attempt, however, was favoured by a thick mist, so that they were not perceived till it was too late; but, in other respects, this fog rendered their situation more critical; it prevented them from seeing for several paces, and deprived them of the means of proceeding with safety. In the mean time they heard a patrol at their feet, whose heavy step served them as a guide to a certain point. The voice of the Spaniards, who were reciting aloud the morning prayer, pointed out to them still more particu-

larly at what distance, and on what side their enemy was stationed.

These two indications led them directly to a post belonging to the rear of the army, and which consisted of five hundred men. This detachment, which was expecting them below, was extremely astonished to see them arrive from above. The Spaniards believed that they had actually fallen from the clouds; and so great was their terror, that they all fled without fighting. The other Spaniards, who were dispersed within the entrenchments, though their fuses were become useless since the enemy was already within the parapet, yet defended themselves more courageously. They fought one hour, at the expiration of which, despairing of victory, they thought only of their safety. They fled towards the valley; but they were stopped by the very obstacles which they had prepared against the Free-booters. The felled trees that incommoded their flight, contributed to their utter defeat. These unfortunate men had sworn not to ask quarter of the robbers, whom they believed to be in a league with hell. They kept their word; and suffered themselves to be put to death, without endeavouring to soften their ferocious conquerors.

The Free-booters who had (will it be credited on their single testimony ?) *only one killed and two wounded*, were at length fatigued with killing, and suffered a few to live. The commander in chief, an old valiant officer, was dead from the number of his wounds. The governor of Costa-Rica had been desirous of sending him eight thousand men; he demanded only one thousand five hundred. Another veteran had advised him not to content himself with being in a position of attack in the front, but also to be fortified in the rear. But the commandant, relying on the defensive means with which nature had surrounded his post, disdained to follow this advice. He thought his counsellor could not reply to the following dilemma: "These Pirates

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“are either men or devils: if they are men, they cannot with all their efforts climb up these rocks in eight days: if they are devils, all the measures we can take against them will be of no avail.” The event has at all times proved the truth of this problem in every country, viz. that things apparently impossible, must be expected from an enemy driven to despair.

The Free-booters were themselves astonished at their success: they clearly saw that if the first detachment of five hundred had done their duty, they must have all been thrown headlong into the chasms. They found in the pockets of the deceased commandant various letters from the governors of different places, informing him of the speedy approach of the troops they were sending to his assistance. There was among these letters, one from the governor of Costa-Rica, dated the 6th of January, which conveyed to him the necessary instructions. It was therein expressed that it was impossible for the Free-booters to escape a total annihilation, that they had not even the resource of flight remaining; and in order that their smallest detachments might not save themselves *beyond the mountains*, orders had been sent to *Don Rodrigo Sermado*, the new governor of Tusignala, to pursue them instantly with three hundred men; because, it was added, their baggage will most certainly be in their rear. To this information was added a strange counsel. “*Be on your guard,*” it was further added, “*for these devils are in possession of secrets that are unknown to us.*” The letter concluded in the following manner:—“I hope God will favour our enterprize, since every thing is directed towards the re-establishment of his glory, and the annihilation of these new Turks. Inspire your soldiers with courage. If they copy your example, they will be deficient in nothing. Assure them they will receive their reward in heaven; and further that, if they triumph, they will acquire a rich booty

"both in gold and silver, because the robbers are abundantly provided with those metals."

The assailant Free-booters had agreed with such of their comrades as had been left in the camp, that in case of victory they should very speedily receive news from them; but that if one hour after the firing had ceased, they did not hear their comrades' voices, they must endeavour to save themselves in what manner soever they could.

In the mean time the detachment of three hundred Spaniards were by no means inactive. As soon as it was observed at sun-rise that the greater part of the Free-booters had left their camp, the detachment marched forward, fully persuaded that an attack had been made in front upon the entrenchment, and consequently that it must have been frustrated. The Free-booters, who had been left behind, found themselves placed in a very dangerous situation. They had to protect the baggage, to guard a number of horses, as also to watch the prisoners; and, notwithstanding this, they must engage with enemies whose number was quadruple to them; but the Spaniards did not avail themselves of these great advantages. On the contrary, they evinced extreme timidity. Instead of rendering their superiority decisive by an impetuous attack, they proposed a conference. An officer repaired to the Free-booters' camp, and informed them that their comrades' attack upon the entrenchment had failed; that they had fled; and that, in the disorder into which they were thrown, they could not escape a detachment of two hundred Spaniards, which was posted on the banks of the river. Persuaded that this news would intimidate them, the officer endeavoured to convince them that, as they were thus left alone to themselves in a camp whence they could have no hope of assistance, they were lost without resource, unless they surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and added that, if they took this wise counsel, he would promise them

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most solemnly, in the general's name, that they should be left peaceably to continue their route, with an escort, towards the northern coasts.

The Free-booters gave as little credit to the pretended defeat of their companions, as to the promise by which it was attempted to lull their vigilance to sleep; and boldly replied: "That, if the Spaniards had, by the extreme superiority of their numbers, annihilated two-thirds of their comrades, the remainder still had courage enough to oppose them; that they had penetrated into the interior of the country only for the purpose of returning home; and that they hoped to succeed in defiance of the Spaniards' opposition."—The officer returned to his principals with this answer.

But the Free-booters who remained in the camp soon thought of acting for themselves. Having observed the signals made by their comrades from the top of the intrenchment, and being thus convinced that they had no longer to apprehend any molestation on their rear, they committed the charge of the baggage and prisoners to a small guard, mounted their horses, and suddenly attacked those very Spaniards who had just challenged them, part of whom they cut to pieces with their hangers, and dispersed the remainder. The two victorious bodies afterwards re-united; and, being thus masters of the whole country, they rested themselves one entire day. Other circumstances, however, still continued to render them uneasy: from the account of their prisoners, they learnt that six miles further there was another great intrenchment, which they could not possibly avoid. They began to fear, lest the very numerous fugitives should have put the whole country in motion, and, by having joined the detachment that was entrenched near the banks of the river, should still more increase the extreme difficulty which they must experience in crossing it. They also perceived fires kindled at a distance on the summits of some lofty mountains, which they conjectured to be signals.

Nevertheless, these alarming circumstances did not prevent them from returning to their journey on the ensuing morning, after they had lamed nine hundred horses, which would have incommoded them in their march. They had brought them thus far, not only to make use of them for riding and for carrying their baggage, but also to support themselves with their flesh during a journey which might still be long, and afford them no means of subsistence.

Two days after they arrived at the entrenchment which had been announced to them; but the Spaniards who guarded it were so terrified, that they did not make the slightest resistance. They remained very quietly behind their batteries; which the Free-booters, who were extremely desirous of getting forward, did not even think it necessary to attack. Thus the good fortune, which rarely abandoned them, dissipated all their anxieties. On the seventeenth day of their march, they at length reached the banks of the river, so ardently desired, and which was to convey them to the sea.

This river, whose name does not occur in any of the historical materials we have consulted, but which appears to be the river Magdalen, derives its source from the mountains of New Segovia: it flows with much noise in a channel beset with enormous rocks; afterwards plunges into immense abysses; and, after falling over upwards of one hundred natural cascades, three of which have a peculiarly terrific aspect, it at length discharges itself into the sea of the Antilles, at a small distance from cape Gracias-à-Dios. The Free-booters heard for several miles the formidable report of the waters, as these flowed impetuously along. These cataracts would have rendered impracticable every means of passing the river, if at the entrance and termination of each there had not been a vast basin or head of still water, where the Free-booters might hope to stop and convey to the opposite banks their embarkations, or floating machines of some kind or other.

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dangers and much trouble, to overcome this passage, which would doubtless be terrifying to men of less intrepidity than these. They were destitute of vessels, ropes, and every utensil that was indispensably necessary for water-carriage. Before them was a very large and extremely rapid river, the course of which was impeded by a host of rocks, that would have been almost impassable, even if they had been provided with every necessary instrument. Further, none of the embarkations commonly known,—pirogues, canoes, boats, or shallops,—would have afforded them any assistance. To enable them to glide down this dangerous river, and to brave its very numerous cascades, they stood in need of large baskets, or of tuns, in which they might enclose themselves up to their waists: but they were destitute of models of such machines. They were therefore obliged to invent and construct them, and to supply themselves with provisions for this novel kind of passage, and to take many other steps required by their altogether extraordinary circumstances, and in the execution of which the Spaniards would not fail to molest them. By these manifold obstacles the Free-booters were by no means intimidated; and every man set to work in order to triumph over them. They killed part of their horses, salted their flesh, and left such as were useless behind them. But the furnishing of provisions was one of their slightest labours. In the accomplishment of their undertaking, every man displayed such a constancy, indefatigable activity, and courage, as the most critical situation, perhaps, they had ever been in, fully demanded of them; and we are justified in saying, that at no period of time, and in no country whatever have mankind carried those qualities to a higher degree than the Free-booters did on this occasion.

In the neighbourhood of the river there was an extensive forest. They cut down the small trees, the wood of which was light, stripped off their bark, cut them into pieces, which they collected by fives, and

fastened together, for want of ropes, with a kind of very tenacious resin, produced by the forest. Thus they formed a great number of small, frail machines, which Ravenneau de Lussan calls *piperies*\*, and which were neither canoes, nor boats, nor rafts; but which bore some resemblance to fruit baskets, or large pitchers made with osiers, that sunk two or three feet deep into the water, and each of which would carry only two men. In these they placed themselves, sinking into the water as far as the waist. Such were the diminutive size, the form, and manner in which these contrivances were made, that the Pirates must keep in an erect position; having long poles in their hands, by which they supported themselves against the current, and kept as far as possible from the rocks, which would have dashed their frail craft to pieces, and from the abysses that would have absorbed them. These baskets were dragged from the forest to the river, without the slightest opposition on the part of the Spaniards, not one of whom came even in sight during the whole of their work.

After they had restored all their prisoners to liberty, and had armed themselves with their long poles, these bold adventurers commenced their voyage,—certainly one of the most rash enterprizes which the annals of mankind have ever mentioned.

At first, their *piperies* (as Ravenneau calls them) were hurried along by the force of the current. Being tremendously tossed about by the waves, the Free-boot-

\* The following short description has been given by a Free-booter, who was himself employed in this novel kind of manufacture, and who has recorded this expedition: "These *piperies*, were four or five trunks of trees, the wood of which was light, and which were fastened together with *liannes*. They carried two or three men, who could only keep themselves upright with long staves which they held in their hands to secure themselves from the abrupt projections of the rocks." On comparing this account with that given by our author, it is still difficult to form a just idea of these machines, and of the manner in which the Free-booters made use of them.

ers were themselves every moment covered with the spray; but the extreme lightness of these floating baskets, in which the Free-booters had strongly fixed themselves, soon brought them up again to the surface of the water. Nevertheless, from the continual efforts they were obliged to make, lest they should be thrown out, they were exhausted with fatigue, and thus prevented from availing themselves of other means of safety: this determined them to fasten themselves to their *piperies*, out of which there would have been no safety for them. By this precaution, they preserved the liberty of one part of their motions; for they had occasion to exert all their activity, in order that they might incessantly oppose their long poles to the rocks, with which they were surrounded. Often times they could not avoid these formidable impediments; oftener still it became impossible for them to rise up again to the surface when their *piperies* had been overwhelmed by the violently agitated waves, and which the weight of their bodies had carried to the bottom; or rather when, being turned upside down, they remained too long immersed beneath the waters, and were drowned. Some, indeed, of these unfortunate persons still contrived to save their lives; but this cost them all they possessed, and they beheld themselves in a moment deprived of that booty which they had acquired after so many dangers, and which they had so much difficulty to drag along with them.

The vast cataracts, where the water rushed impetuously down on every side from a prodigious height, made (as even the intrepid Ravenneau de Lussan has himself acknowledged\*) the stoutest hearts of the whole company tremble, however familiarized they might have been with dangers of every description. Whenever they found themselves near any of these tremendous water-

\* Every thing, indeed, says he, was so formidable, that those only who have experienced it, can form any adequate conception: for my part, who have passed the cataracts, I confess myself incapable of giving any idea that would not fall infinitely short of the reality.

falls, they made every possible exertion to reach the nearest bank. If they succeeded, they drew their floating machines on shore, took out of them every thing they contained, carried it in their hands, or on their shoulders. Nothing in fact was left in them, as every article that was deposited therein was indispensably necessary to them. Thus laden, they climbed up long files of rocks till they arrived at the end of the cascade. Afterwards, they sent some of their comrades to throw their *piperies* again into the river; which, being empty, became the sport of the foaming waves, and bounded down the current towards the spot where they were stopped. The Free-booters then swam to meet them, and recovered them. This descent was performed with the rapidity of lightning; and those who were waiting for them had not a moment to lose. Sometimes they missed their frail craft; in which case the swimmers were obliged to return to land, fell other trees, and cut them to pieces, in order to construct new machines.

For sometime all their *piperies* kept constantly together, with the view of affording mutual assistance; hence arose many accidents. It often happened, that one of these machines, being hurried along by the violence of the torrent, fell upon another, and both were in danger of sinking. Some of them were dashed against a rock, from which they could not be disengaged, because they were closed in by those who were following them. In these critical moments, no other resource remained, but to separate the pieces of wood of which the machine was constructed. The Free-booters who were in it caught hold of these fragments, and abandoning themselves to the current, generally succeeded in saving themselves. On the third day of this equally singular and troublesome voyage, Ravenneau represented to his comrades, that, since they had nothing further to apprehend from the Spaniards, it was utterly useless for all the machines to continue to sail close together, and that all their efforts should be solely directed towards the means of conquering the difficulties presented by



the river. It was therefore resolved to keep, for the future, at some distance from each other; so that those who went first might, by hosting certain flags, point out the most dangerous places, and such as followed them might know from these signals where they might most easily land, either on the rock itself, or on the bank. But, notwithstanding all these precautions, there were still some of their machines that were sunk.

It seems as if these men, who astonish us by their temerity, had been doomed to the *re-union* of all those trials, one of which would have been sufficient to discourage ordinary men. Can it be credited, that, after so many painful exertions, they were not yet near the close of their sufferings? Scarcity of food came to aggravate their deplorable situation. The salted horse-flesh they had brought with them was so tainted in consequence of being frequently wetted, that after the second day they were obliged to throw it away. There was an abundance of game around them; but they could not shoot any, as their arms were wet, and their powder was of no service to them, notwithstanding all their efforts to secure it against the frequent irruptions of the waves. Their only sustenance consisted in the fruit of the banana tree, which grew abundantly on the banks; but that afforded a very inadequate support to the vigour of these men, who were unremittingly exposed to the most fatiguing labour.

The hope of soon finding themselves among men with whom gold and silver must have some value, had a more powerful influence on some of these villains, than their present misery, and the host of dangers which surrounded them could produce. The fear of death produced no effect on them: they were only apprehensive lest they should not have the means of living at their ease. Instigated by this sentiment, six Frenchmen who had lost all their silver by gambling, resolved to indemnify themselves by murdering and plundering their richer comrades. The dispersion of the flotilla favoured their scheme. They concealed them-

selves behind the rocks, and attacked five Englishmen, who were reputed to be in possession of much silver, and who were in the vicinity with their floating machines. After they had killed them, they seized their spoils: the bloody bodies of the murdered men were found on the bank by the river, but the assassins had disappeared, and their comrades never tacked about for them.

The voyage, always accompanied with the same dangers and with the same miseries, continued till the 20th of February, which was the twentieth day since their departure. The river now became broader, and being much deeper, its course was less impetuous. The Freebooters met with no more cataracts; but, in lieu of these, the river was so obstructed by large trees, the roots of which it had washed away and drawn the trunks along with its waters, that the wretched craft could not advance any further: many were overturned, and the Freebooters drowned. This impediment at length ceased, and the danger was diminished, but they were still *sixty marine leagues* distant from the sea. The Freebooters, who were about two hundred and fifty in number, determined to divide themselves into detachments, and to build canoes, each capable of carrying thirty men, with the wood that grew in great abundance around them.

Four of these canoes were soon ready; one hundred and thirty Freebooters embarked in them, and pursued their voyage; the remainder continued behind.\*

On the 9th of March 1688, the 68th day of their romantic voyage, the Pirates who had embarked, at length reached the mouth of the river, at a small distance from Cape Gracias-à-Dios, and entered the ocean after a navigation,—not due north, but almost constantly in a north-westly direction,—of more than three hundred French leagues. Nor, till nearly the close of their voyage, could they steer north.

\* Of the subsequent fate of these men, no account has been given.

Fortune, however, had only partially bestowed her favours on these bold adventurers; for most of them, in consequence of the frequent submersions of their floatings machine, were completely *poor*; their clothes also were falling to pieces. Their hideous appearance excited more pity than terror, and they might have been taken for wretched savages: but they consoled themselves with the idea that the moment was fast approaching when they would revisit their country. In a few days they landed at the island of Perlas; on the coasts and neighbouring latitudes of which they met with some English ships, as well as with those belonging to other nations. They embarked on board of these in small companies; and, towards the close of April 1668, they arrived without further accidents in the West India islands, with the little that yet remained of their plunder.

The celebrated retreat of the ten thousand has been much, and doubtless justly, extolled; but, while we pay homage to all the illustrious circumstances attending them,—the cause for which they fought,—the name of Greek soldiers,—their general, and their historians,—though some may be averse to compare an army of heroes, whose remembrance awakes only grand ideas, with a troop of robbers, who inspire us more with horror than with admiration; yet it must be allowed, that this retreat of the Free-booters,—so long in its duration,—opposed by such difficulties,—undertaken with so much boldness, and supported with such constancy,—is in no respect inferior to any astonishing achievements which history has transmitted to us. This may be considered as the last undertaking of these adventurers, which deserves the attention of posterity. There were indeed, for some time, corsairs, who assumed the name of Free-booters, committed piracies, and fought with much valour. But they were widely different from the real *Brethren of the Coasts*, and did not enjoy that independance, which so eminently characterizes that celebrated association.

Since the astonishing adventure which we have just related, there has been no mention whatever made of the Free-booters properly so called; although, as remarked in a former chapter (ch. x), that appellation has been given to the banditti who infested the West Indies,—absolute vagabonds, who formed no permanent corporations and had no ships in their own possession. The profession of Corsairs, or rather of Pirates or Sea-robbers, was too attractive to bold sailors and men of corrupt morals, for other associations (after the dissolution of the grand society) not to be formed,—which were only temporary indeed, and less numerous; but which, taking the Free-booters for their model, carried on, though on a small scale, the same business, and assumed their name as a means of exciting greater terror.—Neither the peace of Nimeguen, nor that of Utrecht, which was of still more importance, and at length restored peace to Europe, which had been disturbed by a long war, could put an end to the piracies of these robbers. Even after the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, small bodies of Pirates, chiefly English, embarked with the view of scouring the seas on their own account, and of bringing to a close expeditions, the consequences of which were indeed of little moment, but in the execution of which an infinite degree of boldness was absolutely necessary. Either by the force of habit, or by mistake, these Pirates were denominated Free-booters, notwithstanding there was a vast difference between them and the original *Brethren of the Coast*.

The following are the names of their most celebrated commanders that have been preserved: *Misson, Bowen, Kidd, Avery, Teach, Murtel, England, Vane, Bonet, Rackam, Davis, Antis, Roberts, Worley, Lowther, Evans, Philips, Low, Spriggs, and Smith*. A concise history of their exploits, courageous and glorious, if glory can be the concomitant of robbery, has been collected into a volume, in which each has a

chapter appropriated to their achievements.\* Among them were two women, *Mary Read* and *Ann Bonny* who entered into their association, not from licentious motives to gratify their pleasures, but solely by a thirst of plunder, and as copartners in their dangers as well as in their profits. They retained the apparel of their sex, to which they added long sailors' trowsers; they wore their hair dishevelled, a hanger at their waist; pistols on their breast; and a kind of hatchet, such as the English mariners of the middle age were accustomed to use.

The asylum, or rather place of resort of these Pirates, was at first in the isle of Providence, situated near the eastern coast of Florida, and which was the most important of the Bahama islands. They made choice of it chiefly on account of its port, which was too shallow to admit large ships, but spacious enough to contain more than five hundred vessels of moderate size. From thence, however, they were soon chased by the English men of war: they then directed their course towards the Spanish port of Trinidad, in the isle of Cuba. Here they dropped the name of Free-booters; and, having become Pirates, they were supported by those very Spaniards to whom their predecessors had been mortal foes: they even met with protection from Alfonso del Malzano, an alcade, whom they succeeded in gaining over to their interest. But at length the activity of Mr. Laws, the English governor of Jamaica, aided by Admiral Vernon, expelled these Pirates from their new asylum, and entirely extermina-

\* The work here referred to by M. von Archenholtz, is Captain Charles Johnson's "History of the English Pirates;" which we intend to add in a volume, as an appendix to this work. In fact, these robbers were real Pirates, against whom the English Government, in 1727, adopted measures for exterminating them. Their organized robberies did not properly commence till after the peace of Utrecht: they formed a kind of society, which was in some respects modelled according to that of the Free-booters. Like them, they composed statutes, which they swore to observe on a hatchet instead of the bible,

ted them. A few indeed escaped, and dispersed themselves over various parts of the globe: many of them terminated their existence in the prisons of the American islands; while others were sent to England, where they were put to death as Pirates.

There had now, for a long time, remained no traces of the Free-booters properly so called. Their name only had continued to be given to those assemblages of robbers who infested the West Indies both by sea and land; until, after the peace of Utrecht, the services of this second race of Free-booters having become useless to the belligerent powers,—and the civilized world, which had so long been desolated by war, having for some time recovered tranquillity,—the name of that association of Pirates became completely obliterated.

Such was the end of the celebrated republic of Free-booters; which, during the latter part of its existence, only wanted a chieftain possessed of great genius and grand views, to subject America from one pole to the other, and to give our globe a political form, altogether different from that which it has since acquired, in consequence of the establishment of colonies, of commerce, and of navigation. These men, however, just as we have delineated them,—with their tumultuous and lawless conduct, and independence,—without fixed rules, or any determinate object,—without a real thirst of fame,—instigated solely by the attraction of trifling enjoyments;—in a word, the Free-booters have formed such a corporation, that the annals of mankind do not offer a second like it,—have displayed that energy, and those mental and corporeal powers, by means of which great undertakings are carried into execution;—and by their singular achievements, have deserved, if not the admiration, at least the astonishment, of the most distant posterity.

FINIS.

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